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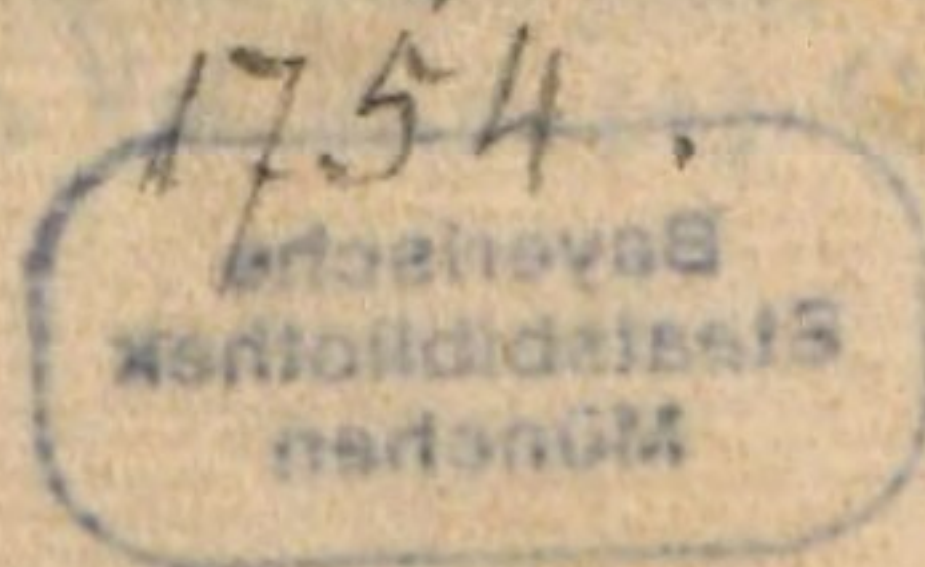
A
V I E W
O F
LORD BOLINGBROKE'S
PHILOSOPHY;

In Four LETTERS to a FRIEND,

LETTERS FIRST and SECOND.

OPROCERES! Cenfore opusest, an Haruspice nobis?
Juv.

L O N D O N,
Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, in *Ludgate-
Street.* MDCCCLIV.



V. I. E. W.
OF
LORD BOLINGBROKE'S
PHILOSOPHY;

IN FOUR LETTERS TO A FRIEND,

LETTERS FIRST AND SECOND.

OF THE ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADES OF GREAT BRITAIN;
Juv.

LONDON:
Printed by J. B. and P. K. in 1734.

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T O

Esq.

* * * * *

DEAR SIR,

LORD BOLINGBROKE'S PHILOSOPHY, so much and so long talked of, is now come, and very fairly, into the hands of the Public. For I think it unjust to the Editor, to suppose his Lordship did not intend the World this LEGACY. His last Will sufficiently shews us his kind intention. But it will be said, he speaks of it, as a thing composed only for the solace and admiration of a few friends in a corner [1]. What then? might not his Lordship change his mind, and extend his benefits? Hardly, you will say, without *contradicting* his professed principles. So much the

[1] " Let us seek truth, but seek it quietly as well
" as freely. Let us not imagine, like some who are
" called FREE-THINKERS, that every man who can
" think and judge for himself (as he has a right to do)
" has therefore a right of SPEAKING, any more than of
" *acting*, according to the full freedom of his thoughts.
" The freedom belongs to him as a rational creature.
" He lies under the restraint as a *member of Society*.
" — As we think for ourselves, we may keep our
" thoughts to ourselves or communicate them with a
" DUE RESERVE, and in such manner ONLY, as it
" may be done without *offending the Laws of our Coun-*
" *try, and disturbing the public peace.*" — *Introductory*
Letter to Mr. Pope, Vol. iii. p. 343. Quarto Edition.
better.

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better. The publication then will be of a piece with the rest. And never trouble your head with one *contradiction*, where you may meet with a thousand.

Quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?

Now tho' I know You have as little Curiosity to hear what a Freethinker can object to the FAITH which has got possession of your heart, as what a Pick-pocket can chicane to the Property in your purse: yet the name of L. BOLINGBROKE'S METAPHYSICS, (which, I think, were become as famous, and hitherto as little understood, as his POLITICS) cannot sure but incline you to some slight acquaintance at least with this FIRST PHILOSOPHY, as he calls it; and which, in the manner of other Conquerors, he erects on a general desolation.

The only part of his Lordship's Character, that yet remained equivocal, was his LITERARY. How this will fare by the publication of his *Philosophy*, I will not pretend to say; perhaps not altogether so well as his Friends might give him the pleasure to expect. He frequently tells his reader, that the Doctrine of his ESSAYS and FRAGMENTS had been occasionally thrown out amongst them, and made the subject

subject of many free conversations. While haranguing in that circle, I will suppose he met with the applause he sought for. But had he chose to bring them to the bar of the Publick himself, he might have seen strange revolutions. “*Illic, et Judex tacet, et Adversarius obstrepit, et nihil TEMERE DICTUM perit: et, siquid TIBI IPSE SUMAS, PROBANDUM EST: et, omisso MAGNA SEMPER FLANDI TUMORE, loquendum est*[1].” Indeed his Lordship could hardly expect to escape the severity of this tribunal but by a very superior merit: Since his meditations on divine matters are so extensive, that scarce any one, who has written in defence of Virtue, or Religion, but will find himself either insulted in his person or misrepresented in his opinions; and merely for being in his Lordship’s way.

But sure, when a man of his polite manners had condescended to enter into learned altercation, the world might at least expect a Model for the *courtly management of Controversy*: which, once for all, should have either reformed, or should for ever discredit the groffer Polemics of

[1] Quint.

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the Schools. So that tho' the DIVINE would expect no great *matter* from these *oracles of reason*, yet he would readily accept his amends in the *manner* of so elegant a pen. And perhaps you will think, Divines had been no losers by this equivalent: You, who have observed that, in their commerce with the World, the chief difficulty lies in the *Forms*: Indeed, they have been generally thought wanting in them; whether their pride prompts them to appeal to the Authority of Reason; or their prudence teaches them to submit to the Wisdom of their Betters. And the management of their controversies in the Schools, and the prosecution of their interests in Courts, have, on different accounts, been equally obnoxious to the censure of their adversaries. I would willingly avoid both these extremes. For I would, if possible, preserve and support that love and reverence to an useful Body, which the noble Writer, relying, not on his own Politics, but on other men's, has, in his *fourth Essay*, devoted to Destruction. He, indeed, may call for aid on the *Secular arm*; he has the old reason for so doing; but, I dare say, the *Clergy* never will.

Things are now come to that pass, that the State seems to be in more need of their Support, than They, of the State's. For, tho' the cavils of licentious men always end in the Confirmation of Truth and Virtue, yet they generally set out in loosening the hold, which Religion has on the PEOPLE. And when that is gone, what other Engine the Magistrate will invent, to keep the multitude in order, They, whose principal concern it is, would do well to consider.

As I said, then, I had taken it for granted, that our noble Adversary, for an Adversary he has condescended to be, and a warm conflict it is likely to prove, would be principally anxious to teach us in his writings, what was his wont in conversation, that studied politeness, which is so well fitted to keep inferiors at a distance: And that, when he had declared mortal war against every thing the world hath hitherto called RELIGION; and against that Order, (call them as you will, PRIESTS, or MINISTERS) which all states had thought proper to establish, for the Support of it, we should see his attack carried on by the fairest as well as strongest reasoning, the

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gentlest as well as the firmest address, and the politest as well as the keenest raillery.

But how was I disappointed, to find this Conservator of States, this Legislator in Philosophy and Religion, utterly unable to raise his head above the rank contagion of the Schools: to see Polemics go their usual train; and this Sun of our new System, whirled along the turbid vortex of controversy, like any the most *ignoble* of the earthly Bodies! But his POET, or rather his *Prophet*, (who so magnificently announced to us the glad tidings of all these good things) had prepared us for it. He had contemplated this strange phenomenon: not, indeed, without surprize. It is, says he,

——“mighty odd:
“A fit of vapours clouds this DEMI-GOD.”

To be plain, I met with nothing in these big Volumes, but the rankness of SOUTH without his force; and the malignity of MARVEL without his wit. You shall not believe me on my own word: the evidence lies before us. Give me leave then to present you with a SPECIMEN, under his own hand, of his candour, his temper,

temper, and infinite politeness. And tho' one can but ill judge of the *harvest* by a sample of the field-flowers, yet we may form a pretty good guess of the *soil*.

Nor is this intemperance of language, of which I propose to give you a taste, the mere escape of fancy or humour, which it would be charity to overlook: It is a sort of *formula dicendi*, without which, all his Lordship's authentic acts of Legislation would be invalid: It is the very SPIRIT of his *new Religion*, without which, the whole would be indeed but a *dead letter*.

It was with the less reluctance I entered on this part of my design, that I might have to justify to the world the plainness and freedom with which I may hereafter chance to treat his Lordship's REASONING; (as you know I am sometimes thinking to give it a thorough Examination;) for, the excellent Quintilian well observes, "Præstat ut libertatis nostræ RATIO reddatur, ne quis nos aut *petulantes* in lædendis his, aut etiam *ambitiosos* putet."

Without any further preface, then, let the Shew begin: Only premising, that as his Lordship had a FIRST PHILOSOPHY to

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erect, he had an immense deal of rubbish to remove: The rubbish of every great Name, and of every sacred Order: all of which stood directly in his way.

With CUDWORTH he begins: and of CUDWORTH he says, *The heads of many reverend persons have been turned by a preternatural fermentation of the brain, or a philosophical delirium. None hath been more so than this divine* [1]. Again, CUDWORTH [in his INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM] gives you little less than a nonsensical paraphrase of nonsense. It was not his fault. The good man passed his life in the study of an unmeaning jargon; and as he learned, he taught [2].

To talk, like CUMBERLAND, of promoting the good of the whole System of rational Agents, amongst whom God is included, and of human benevolence towards him, is to talk metaphysical jargon and theological blasphemy [3].

CLARKE triumphs in this foolish and wicked rhodomontade, &c. [4]—All CLARKE says about the discovery of God's will, is a rhapsody of presumptuous reasoning and of

[1] Vol. iii. p. 353. of his Works, in Quarto.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 92. [3] Vol. v. p. 82.

[4] Vol. v. p. 252.

prophane absurdities [5]. — *Audacious and vain Sophist!* His terms have a solemn air, that may impose on the unwary, and confirm the habitual prejudices of others; but more absurdity cannot be stuffed into so few words [6].

Declaiming against WOLLASTON, he says, *But I will detain you no longer about such discourse as would convince you, if you heard it at MONROE'S, that the Philosopher who held it was a patient of the Doctor's not yet perfectly restored to his senses* [7]. Again, of the same excellent Person, *We have here an example of the second sort of Madness mentioned above. The man who writ all this nonsense was a man of parts, — But when these learned Lunatics, &c.* [8].

CLARKE and WOLLASTON are now grown outrageous; and fit only to be chained together. So that henceforth they are rarely shewn asunder. We sometimes find them in the height of a metaphysical frenzy [9]: And, by what one can see, without much provocation. They had proved the Soul to be a thinking substance distinct from Matter: And I

[5] Vol. v. p. 292.

[6] Vol. v. p. 395.

[7] Vol. iii. p. 518.

[8] Vol. v. p. 374.

[9] Vol. iii. p. 514.

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don't know of any body, before his Lord-
ship (who very civilly permitted them to
enjoy the honour of it for life) that pre-
tended to question the *demonstration*.

The President FORBES is *really mad*;
but it is only *quoad hoc*. For observe, he
was *no Divine by profession, but something
better* [10]. Indeed, not much. He was
a LAWYER. Of which *unlearned* Profes-
sion, as he calls it, *ninety nine in a hundred
at least, (he says) are Petty-foggers, Sharp-
ers, Brawlers, and Cavillers* [11].

But, to give the better edge to his well-
tempered language, he sometimes dips it
in irony: and then it is, *The good Earl of
Nottingham*; and the *righteous Bishop Sher-
lock*. They deserved this compound abuse.
For the First publicly defended, and ably
too, that *Faith* which stands so much in
his way: and the Other once ventured to
oppose that *Party*, whose patronage he had
then condescended to assume.

He comes next to the whole BODY of
the Christian Clergy. And now the *first
Philosophy* begins to work; and the task to
grow serious. The PRIMITIVE SAINTS
and DOCTORS have the precedence, as is
fitting. “The list of MARTYRS consist-

[10] Vol. v. p. 523.

[11] Vol. ii. p. 353.
“ed

“ ed, I believe, of those who suffered for
 “ BREAKING THE PEACE [11]. The PRI-
 “ MITIVE CLERGY were, under pretence
 “ of Religion, a very LAWLESS TRIBE [12].”
 “ ALL the Christian FATHERS using a DE-
 “ LIRIOUS STYLE, it became that of Chri-
 “ stian Theology [13.]” “ It would scarce
 “ be possible to believe that the greatest
 “ Saints and Doctors of the Church had
 “ talked so much BLASPHEMOUS NONSENSE,
 “ and employed so much *artifice* about it,
 “ if their writings were not extant [14].”
 —“ Of all this *absurdity, prophaneness, and*
 “ *ridicule*, they who built up Christian
 “ theology were guilty.” You ask, with
 impatience, What was this *absurdity*? &c.
 He was going to tell you; for he never
 minces matters. “ They ADDED (says he)
 “ the EPISTLES to the GOSPELS; the doc-
 “ trines of PAUL to those of CHRIST; till
 “ the APOCALYPSE became a part of our
 “ holy Scriptures [15].” And now, I hope,
 you are satisfied; and ready for what he
 tells us was the result, That “ Christian
 “ Divines and Philosophers have done

[11] Vol. iv. p. 434.

[12] Id. ib.

[13] Vol. iv. p. 612.

[14] Vol. iv. p. 303.

[15] Vol. iv. p. 371.

“ more

“more to DEBASE our notions of the supreme Being, than all the Doctors of Polytheism [16].”

This was reasonably well, for new-beginners : But nothing like the feats of MODERN DIVINES.

“It is MADNESS, or *something* WORSE than madness, for Divines to imagine themselves able to comprehend a whole Oeconomy of divine Wisdom from *Adam* down to *Christ*. And yet this is so customary, that not only the learned and ingenious, but every dabbler in Theology, who must pass for a *fool* or a *knave* whenever he grows extravagant, affects to reason in the same manner [17].”

—“Would Divines insist chiefly on the external proofs of the authenticity of Scripture—they would avoid *a great deal* of BLASPHEMY [18].”—“They are absurd and licentious in urging both the external and internal evidence of Revelation [19].”

—“Our Divines turn themselves to de-claim on certain and undoubted marks of the divine Authority of the Scriptures of

[16] Vol. iii. p. 541.

[17] Vol. iv. p. 274.

[18] Vol. iii. p. 272.

[19] Vol. iv. p. 273.

“the

“ the Israelites—Let us compare some of
 “ these supposed marks with those of hu-
 “ man original, and they will stare us in
 “ the face, and point out plainly the FRAUD
 “ and IMPOSTURE [20].”

— “ It is common and yet astonishing to
 “ observe, with how much solemnity and
 “ confidence almost all those who teach
 “ and defend Christianity, presume to AF-
 “ FIRM ANY THING, tho’ never so evident-
 “ ly FALSE [1].”

— “ The best, and even such as pass for
 “ the fairest controversial Writers, improve
 “ by artifice the natural infirmity of the
 “ human mind. They do, on purpose,
 “ confound ideas and perplex the signi-
 “ fication of signs—the most scandalous
 “ frauds are applauded under the name of
 “ subtilties. This I call theological fraud [2].”
 Hence, in another place, he says, that *fol-
 ly and knavery prevail most amongst Divines*
 [3], and again, that They are THE PLAGUES
 AND SCOURGES OF THE WORLD [4].

“ The doctrine of Clarke and other
 “ Christian Divines about our obligation

[20] Vol. iii. p. 288.

[1] Vol. iv. p. 295.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 424—5.

[3] Vol. v. p. 6.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 435.

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“ to imitate God is FALSE and PRO-
“ PHANE [5].”

“ Divines have IMPUDENTLY and
“ WICKEDLY assumed, that there is a law
“ of right reason common to God and
“ man [6].”

“ What I have advanced will be treated
“ as an impious paradox by some of the
“ trifling solemn dogmatists in Criticism and
“ Theology, who have advanced so many
“ *absurd and impious* paradoxes of their
“ own [7].”

We now come to what the noble author
calls the DELIRIUM OF METAPHYSICAL
THEOLOGY [8].— “ The man who walk-
“ ed soberly about in the Bedlam of Paris,
“ and believed himself God the Father,
“ was mad. Thus the Philosopher, who
“ takes a bold leap from a few clear and
“ distinct ideas to the first principles of
“ things, is *mad* [9].”

“ The *reasoners à priori* resemble very
“ much one sort of MADMEN. Some of
“ these are so VERY MAD that they lose all
“ use of their reason. Others again deduce

[5] Vol. v. p. 65.

[6] Vol. v. p. 77.

[7] Vol. v. p. 190.

[8] Vol. iii. p. 356.

[9] Vol. iv. p. 139.

“ confe-

“ consequences, and argue very justly, but
 “ are STILL MAD: because they reason
 “ from principles that have no appearance
 “ of reality out of their own overheated and
 “ disordered imaginations. You will find
 “ instances of this kind, without the trou-
 “ ble of going to *Bedlam*; but you will
 “ find them principally in *Colleges* and
 “ *Schools* [10].”

— “ They deserve to be treated like
 “ patients proper for Dr. MONROE, and
 “ to be put under his care. Nothing less
 “ than *Metaphysics* could have turned so
 “ many good heads [11].”

Well then, Divines are all MAD; and, for fear of mischief, in safe custody. Sometimes indeed, his Lordship lets them out to cool, and air themselves; nay, he is so good to give them their lucid intervals; but it is only to *play the rogue*, and to *cant in the pulpit*; and then, back again to their kennel, to *Monroe*, and his discipline; or, what is still worse, to his Lordship's; to hear themselves called *Fools*, *Knaves*, *Cheats*, *mad men*, *Impostors*, and *Blasphemers*. And, for these hasty changes of the Scene, he has contrived a most in-

[10] Vol. v. p. 369.

[11] Vol. v. p. 417.

genious expedient. He has divided the Clergy into the two classes of *Theologians* and *Metaphysicians*: in the first of which, the KNAVE is predominant; in the second, the MADMAN. So that he has of either sort always ready, and at hand, just as he wants them. But as *Madmen* are much easier dealt with than *Knaves*, he has prepared one common BEDLAM for the reception of them all. *For God forbid* (he says) *he should be as uncharitable as Divines*, to think they deserved a worse place, *as blaspheming in their senses* [12]. Good man! How shall the clergy express their thanks to him for so much Charity? Alas! he thinks not of it: his *modesty* is still greater than his charity: and he is only anxious not to be misunderstood; and lest Divines should take his honest freedom in dudgeon. Nay, he is even ready to fear, that it may possibly procure him, in return, some ecclesiastical BILLINGSGATE; to be called infidel, deist, and perhaps atheist. My reply (says he) to SO ANGRY Disputants should be CALM, AND SUCH AS MIGHT TEACH CHARITY to those who preach it so much, and practise it so little [13]. To say the truth, his Lord-

[12] Vol. iv. p. 464.

[13] Vol. iv. p. 225.

ship seems, like (JUSTICE SHALLOW in the Play) to be suspicious of those he had so well entertained. *Davy*, (says the Justice, speaking of his Court-Guests) *be civil to these Knaves, for they will BACK-BITE.* *Not worse than they are BITTEN* (replies Davy) *for they have marvelous foul linen.* Whether his Lordship found the *Priest's Surplice* in this condition, or whether he left it so, is not material. No marvel at it's evil plight, when it has been so long over-run with Vermin; such as Toland, Chub, Morgan; and those who have been since bred out of them.

The BILLINGSGATE, however, if we give but equal credit to what we *hear* of the Clergy, and to what we *see* of his Lordship, lies pretty nearly between them. Admit, they have both their share: yet, I agree with the right Honourable Author, it becomes the reverend Clergy much less than it does him. They are *Disputants*; he is an *Orator*. Their proper business is to *reason*; his proper business is to *rail*. While each confines himself to his province, every thing goes well. But should they change weapons; should the Orator attempt to reason,

C

and

and the Disputant be provoked to rail, all would be out of order. I venture, on the authority of Quintilian, to reckon *railing* amongst the ARTS of Eloquence. "CONVI-
 " TIIS implere VACUA causarum," says this able Rhetor. It is true he holds it to be of the less perfect kind—"est enim prorsus CANINA ELOQUENTIA." But his Lordship might reasonably think, that his *Dog-Eloquence*, was well enough fitted to their *Dog-Logic*. However, Quintilian would not overload this species of Eloquence, nor would I; tho' neither of us be much disposed to extol it. He confesses there is yet a ranker kind. "Sed hæc minora sunt ILLO VITIO ANIMI, quo MALEDICUS a MALEFICO non distat, nisi OCCASIONE." "In which, says he, nothing but *opportunity* is wanting to make the *evil-speaker* an *evil-doer*." But the *Minister of State* must join the *Orator* before this can be brought about: just as the DIVINE and ATHEIST must *conspire* to make that ARTIFICIAL BLASPHEMY which, his Lordship assures us, has eaten into the very vitals of Religion.

But the mention of this CONSPIRACY reminds

minds me that it is now high time to give you some account of it.

Hitherto we have only the out-lines, or, at most the general air of this *Clerical Portrait*; all he could catch at the first sitting. A horrid combination finishes the Picture: a CONFEDERACY BETWEEN DIVINES AND ATHEISTS, *to dishonour and degrade the God of the universe*. This is the striking feature; and so artificially disposed, that, turn the Portrait what way you will, it has still a *plotting*, which in his Lordship's justice, is little better than a *hanging look*.

A confederacy so monstrous, so mad, so portentous, may perhaps startle you at first. But don't be frightened. Take my word for it, it will come to nothing. It is a Treaty of his own making. And you have heard enough of his talents for this sort of business. He could reconcile the most unnatural alliances to the delicacy of his *morals*; and the most ridiculous miscarriages to the superiority of his *Politics*. But a *confederacy between Divines and Atheists!* you say.—Was any thing so odious! What think you, I pray, of that

blind bargain he once drove between certain of King George's Protestant Subjects, and a Popish Pretender? How *that* came to nothing, he has not thought fit to tell us, in his curious account of that matter [18]. But, as to *this* confederacy, I may have an opportunity of shewing you, that, after all his pains to form it, he betrayed and dissolved it, himself. At present, my business is only to shew you what he *says* of it.

“ After pleading the cause of natural
 “ and revealed Religion, I am to plead
 “ the cause of God himself, against DI-
 “ VINES AND ATHEISTS IN CONFEDERA-
 “ CY [19].

“ The conduct of Christian Divines has
 “ been so far from defending the Provi-
 “ dence of God, that they have joined in
 “ the clamour against it. Nothing has
 “ hindered, even those who pretend to be
 “ his Messengers, his Embassadors, his
 “ *Plenipotentiaries*, from renouncing their
 “ allegiance to him, as they themselves have

[18] See the whole Letter to Sir W. Windham.

[19] Vol. v. p. 305.

“ the FRONT TO AVOW, but the hypothe-
 “ sis of a future state. On this hypothesis
 “ alone they insist; and therefore if this
 “ will not serve their turn, God is disowned
 “ by them, as effectually as if he was so, in
 “ terms [20].” “ Divines, if not Atheists,
 “ yet are ABETTERS of Atheism [1].”

“ That there were some men, who
 “ knew not God in all ages may be true:
 “ but the scandalous task of COMBATING
 “ HIS EXISTENCE under the mark of
 “ Theism, was reserved for Metaphysici-
 “ ans and Theologians [2].”

—“ Divines are still more to be blamed.
 “ A CONFEDERACY WITH ATHEISTS be-
 “ comes ill the professors of Theism.
 “ No matter. They PERSIST, and have
 “ done their best, in concert with their
 “ allies, to DESTROY the belief of the good-
 “ ness of God:—They endeavour to DE-
 “ STROY that of his goodness, which is a
 “ farther article of their Alliance [3].”

“ The CONFEDERACY between Atheists
 “ and Divines appears to have been carried

[20] Vol. v. p. 487—8.

[1] Vol. v. p. 485.

[2] Vol. v. p. 307.

[3] Vol. v. p. 393.

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“VERY FAR—Nay the Atheist will ap-
 “pear, to that reason, to which they both
 “appeal, more consistent in his absurdity
 “than the Divine [4].” “DIVINES UPBRAID
 “God’s goodness, and CENSURE his Jus-
 “tice [5].”—“INJUSTICE is, in this life,
 “ascribed to God, by Divines [6].”

“The whole Tribe of Divines, like
 “Wollaston and Clarke, do, in effect RE-
 “NOUNCE the God, whom you and I
 “adore, as much as the rankest of the
 “Atheistical Tribe. Your Priests and our
 “Parsons will exclaim most pathetically,
 “and RAIL OUTRAGEOUSLY at this asser-
 “tion. But have a little patience, and I
 “will prove it to their shame to be
 “true [7].”

This is bold: but he knew there was no
 danger. These *Priests* and *Parsons*, as he
 tells us, are mere ORTHODOX BULLIES,
*who affect to triumph over men who em-
 ploy but part of their strength; tire them
 with IMPERTINENT PARADOXES; and pro-
 voke them by UNJUST REFLECTIONS, and
 often, by the FOULEST LANGUAGE [8].*

[4] Vol. v. p. 348—9.

[5] Vol. v. p. 417.

[6] Vol. v. p. 541.

[7] Vol. v. p. 485.

[8] Vol. iii. p. 273.

Now,

Now, on a man of his Lordship's professed moderation, as well as *concealed strength*, who, (as himself assures us) *sets an example of candour* [9], these *orthodox Bullies* can have no hold. For, as *impudent* as they are, they can never *have the face* to call *this confederacy with Atheists* an IMPERTINENT PARADOX; this attempt to *decry God's providence, to blot out his attributes of goodness and justice, to combat his existence, and finally to renounce him*, an UNJUST REFLECTION: or that the names, he gives them, of *madmen, fools, knaves, blasphemers*, is FOUL LANGUAGE. But then you ask, what sort of eloquence is it, with which these *Orthodox Bullies* contrive to RAIL OUTRAGEOUSLY, and yet employ none of his Lordship's flowers of speech? Now, tho' this specimen of his *Lordship's* eloquence, was what I owed to his inimitable pen; I have not the same obligation, nor shall have the same complaisance, to the *Divines*.

You will forgive me, I dare say, if I rather chuse, to vindicate them from the horrid calumny of this imaginary confede-

[9] Vol. iv. p. 548.

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racy ; even tho' I go a little out of my way to do it. To say the truth, the charge is too serious to be passed over with the same lightness I am disposed to treat the rest of his Lordship's foul Language. Besides, I should be ashamed to do nothing but trifle ; tho' his Lordship (as his friend Pope predicted of him [10]) affords none but trifling occasions.

Be pleased then to understand, that ATHEISM ever endeavoured to support it self, on a FACT, which has indeed all the certainty that the evidence of sense can give it ; namely *the irregular distribution of moral good and evil.*

—“ Cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
 “ Adspicerem, *lætosque diu florere nocentes,*
 “ *Vexarique pios*——labefacta cadebat
 “ RELIGIO,”—

was the common language of the impatient sufferer. From hence the Atheist inferred, that things were without an intelligent Ruler ; driven about by that Fate or For-

[10] IF EVER LORD B. TRIFLES, IT MUST BE WHEN HE TURNS A DIVINE. Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter 14.

tune,

tune, which first produced them. DIVINES opposed this *conclusion*: for they did not venture to be so paradoxical as, with his Lordship, to call in question *the premisses*, a phenomenon which objected itself to all their senses. They demonstrated, STRICTLY DEMONSTRATED, the Being of a God, and his moral attributes. And then shewed, that if the whole of man's existence were included in this life, the present distribution of moral good and evil would contradict that demonstration. They, therefore, inferred, on their part, that the whole was not included in this life: but that man was reserved for a future reckoning; in which, an equal distribution of rewards and punishments will amply vindicate the providence of a righteous Governor.

But *Atheists* were not the only enemies *Divines* had to do with. There was a set of men, who allowed an intelligent first Cause, endowed with those moral attributes, which *Divines* had demonstrated. And, on that account, called themselves DEISTS. Yet they agreed so far with *Atheism*, as to confine the whole of man's existence to the present life. These, the *Divines* com-

combated in their turn ; and with the same arms ; but in an inverted order. In disputing with the *Atheist*, the principle held in common, was *the present unequal distribution of Good and Evil*. So that to cut off their conclusion from it, of NO GOD, they proved his *being and attributes* : and from that proof inferred that the inequality would be set right. With the *Deist*, the common principle was *the being and attributes of God*. Therefore, to bring them to the allowance of a FUTURE STATE, they proved the present *unequal distribution* of good and evil ; and from thence inferred, that there must be such a State.

This is a plain and true account of the contest with ATHEISTS and DEISTS, in which the subject of *a future state* came in question : In either controversy, it is *deduced from the moral attributes* : only with this difference, In the dispute with Atheists, the demonstration of those attributes is *made* ; in the dispute with Deists it is *allowed*. The final purpose against Atheism is to prove the BEING AND ATTRIBUTES of God ; against Deism to prove
a FU-

a FUTURE STATE: For neither *natural* nor *revealed* Religion can subsist without *believing that God is, and that he is a REWARDER of them that seek him* [11]. Thus, we see, the *question*, in either controversy, being different; the *premisses*, by which they were to be proved, must needs be different. The difference is here explained: the *premisses*, in the argument with Atheists, were the *moral attributes*; the *premisses* in the argument with Deists, the *unequal distribution* of good and evil.

Who now would have expected to see calumny either thrive or rise on so unpromising a ground: or a writer bold enough to tell the World, that this conduct of the DIVINES was a CONFEDERACY *with ATHEISTS, to decry God's providence; to blot out his attributes of goodness and justice; to combat his Government; and to deny his very existence?* The RIGHT HONOURABLE Author does all this; and more;—He hopes to be believed. It is true, this is a fine believing age: Yet I hardly think he would have pushed his confidence in it's credulity so far, had he himself

[11] St. Paul.

seen

seen his way clear before him. His Lordship is always sublime, and therefore often cloudy; commonly at too great a distance to see into the detail of things, or to enter into their *minutiæ*: for which, indeed, he is perpetually felicitating his genius: So that, in his *general view* of Theologic matters, he had jumbled the two controversies together; and, in the confusion, has commodiously slipped in one fact for another. He, all the way, represents Divines as making A FUTURE STATE THE PROOF OF GOD'S MORAL ATTRIBUTES: Whereas, we now see, on the very face of the controversy, that they make THE MORAL ATTRIBUTES A PROOF OF A FUTURE STATE. Let us consider how the dispute stands with *Atheists*. These men draw their argument against a God, from the condition of the moral world: The Divine answers, by *demonstrating* God's Being and Attributes: and, on that demonstration, satisfies the objection. Consider how it stands with the *Deist*. Here, God's Being and Attributes is a common principle: And on this ground the Divine stands, to deduce a *future state* from

from the unequal distribution of things. How then was it possible, you will ask, it should be as his Lordship pretends; and is perpetually repeating; namely, that *Divines make a future state the proof of God's moral attributes?* What tell you me, of possible? It was necessary. It was to support his slander of a CONFEDERACY. There was no room to pretend that God's Being and attributes were made precarious, by proving a *future state*, from them: But could he get it believed, that Divines proved the Being and attributes from a *future state*, he would easily find credit with his *kind readers*, for the rest.

Well then, the whole amount of his CHIMERICAL CONFEDERACY rises to this, That *Divines and Atheists hold a principle in common*; but in common too with all the rest of mankind; namely, that there are irregularities in the distribution of moral good and evil. His Lordship has been angry with all POLITICAL, as well as all RELIGIOUS Parties in their turns. Suppose he had taken it into his head to ornament a CRAFTSMAN with the detection of a *political confederacy* between the WHIGGS and JACOBITES, to dethrone KING

GEORGE; because both denied that he reigned *jure divino*: Would not *Mother Osborne* have smiled through all her gravity; and told him that the *Whiggs* urged this common principle to support their Monarch's title against *indefeasible hereditary right*? And is it not as evident that, in this pretended *anti-theological conspiracy*, *Divines* employed the other common principle, to support Religion against *Atheism and Deism*! But whatever his Lordship might think proper to disguise in this reasoning, there is one thing the most careless Reader will never overlook; which is, that, under all this pomp of words and solemnity of accusation, lies lurking the poorest species of a Bigot's calumny; which too is perpetually betraying itself in the *meanness* of misrepresentation, and the *rancour* of abusive language. For it is the Bigot's practice, from *one* principle held in common, to charge his Adversary with *all* the follies or impieties of an obnoxious Party. This miserable artifice had been now long hissed out of learned controversy, when the noble Lord took it up; and, with true political skill, worked it into a

SHAM

SHAM PLOT; to make RELIGION distrust
it's best Friends, and take refuge in the
FIRST PHILOSOPHY.

TINDAL and COLLINS were manly Ad-
versaries. They knew how to invent, to
pursue, and to push an argument against
Religion. But what does this noble Wri-
ter know — His friends will tell you.
They admire him for his wit and eloquence.
But his friends admire, where You and I
see nothing but an inflamed spirit, and an
inflated style.

But he has not yet done with the CHRI-
STIAN CLERGY. What remained behind
was to collect together his scattered abuse;
and to pour it all at once on that venera-
ble Body, with as unfeeling a hand, as un-
relenting heart.

“ Nothing more (says he) will be want-
“ ing to answer all the ends of *artificial*
“ *Theology*, than to assume that they who
“ minister in holy things are the *Omrahs*,
“ the *Vizirs* and the *Bassas* of THIS MIGH-
“ TY KING, whose commands they pub-
“ lish, interpret, and execute, or cause to
“ be executed, rather than his EMBASSA-
“ DORS: by assuming which latter charac-
“ ters,

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“ters, they seem to lessen, over modestly,
 “the dignity of their own order, and to
 “raise that of the Laity too high: BUT I
 “AM ASHAMED TO HAVE SAID SO MUCH
 “ON THIS SUBJECT [12].”

This is, indeed, as he says of them,
over modest. But they will be ready to
 reply in the words of the Poet,

“Let SHAME come when it will, we
 “do not call it”.

Besides, after what has passed, I see no-
 thing he need be *ashamed of*; unless it be
 for stealing the paultry joke of *Embassadors*
 and *Plenipotentiaries* [13] from Lord
 Shaftsbury: which, if it but contribute to
 support his character for *Wit*, I think, may
 be easily forgiven.

“Far be it from me (pursues this Right
 “Honourable Person) and from every lover
 “of Truth and common sense, to wish that
 “the race of Metaphysicians and Casuists
 “should increase, or so much as continue.
 “But since there are, have been, and will

[12] Vol. v. p. 540—I.

[13] See p. 20. of this Letter.

“ be such men in all ages, it is very rea-
 “ sonable to wish that they may serve to
 “ the same good purpose that the HELOTES,
 “ the DRUNKEN SLAVES did at Sparta;
 “ and that their DELIRIUM, instead of im-
 “ posing on others, and even infecting ma-
 “ ny, may be at length LAUGHED OUT of
 “ the world [10].” What pity is it his
 Lordship himself had not tried this expedi-
 ent; (whose efficacy, other Lords of better
 temper, so kindly recommend and prac-
 tise [11],) and employed his great *wit* to
 laugh the Clergy out of the world, rather
 than his *eloquence* to scold them out of it. He
 may rail, thro’ all his figures, at *the imper-
 tinence of Logic, the futility of Metaphysics,
 the fraud of Disputation, and the blasphemy
 of Divinity* [12]. These are the arms of
 impotent, hysterical Women when they
 want to have their will. After the long la-
 bours of a HOOKER, a STILLINGFLEET,
 a CUDWORTH, a SPENCER, a TILLOTSON,
 and a CLARKE, the English Clergy may
 answer his Lordship, in the words of *De
 Rosny*, as I think the story goes, to some

[10] Vol. v. p. 446. [11] See their *Essays*, of
 past and present date, *in the freedom of wit and humour*.

[12] Vol. iv. p. 353.

old Ladies of the *League*, who, when HENRY IV. had got possession of Paris, were one day very *eloquent* in their invectives against him, “ Good ancient Gentlewomen, said this rough old Soldier) spare your breath, and set your hearts at rest, for MY MASTER is not a man to be scratched and scolded out of his KINGDOM.”

But when, between his malice and his magic, he had transformed the CLERGY into *drunken slaves*; you must not think he would neglect to expose them to his NOBLE SPARTANS, in this condition. He hath not envied his Friends their entertainment: and no cost is spared of lavish expression to set out these drunken revels. “ The Choirs of birds (says he) “ who whistle and sing, or scream at “ one another, or herds of beasts who “ bleat and low, or chatter and roar, at one “ another, have just as much meaning and “ communicate it as well --- Such is the “ common conversation — Such, too, for “ the most part, are all the public discourses “ that are held, and the solemn harangues “ of the Pulpit [13].”

[13] Vol. iii. p. 422—3.

After so large a collection of his Lordship's flowers of speech, you will dispense with me from gathering up his looser ends; such as, *absurdity, effronderie, knavery, folly, nonsense, delirium, frenzy, lunacy, downright madness, impiety, prophaneness, blasphemy, and atheism*: which, like seed-pearl, are every where scattered over the embroidery of his eloquence.

But when I review this torrent of ribaldry, strong enough to overlay an Oyster-wench, I am apt, with indignation, to ask,

An quæ

Turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumq; decebunt?

but ready, however, in charity to suspect, that even as his Lordship gave to BOWNCE, his friend's dog, the sentiments of his master [14], so his Lordship's Secretary, who attended to two at once, his Lordship and his Lordship's PARROT, might unaware put

[14] *The world* (says his Lordship to Pope) *is as well fitted for BOWNCE as for YOU, with respect to physical nature; and with respect to MORAL nature, BOWNCE has little to do beyond heark'ning to the STILL WHISPERS, the SECRET SUGGESTIONS, and the SUDDEN INFLUENCES of instinct.* Vol v. p. 467. This, the Reader sees, is intended for a compliment

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down to his Lord, what indeed belonged to the Favorite : who, however *eloquent* he might be, yet, we are told, was *no Philosopher*.

The Coxcomb bird, so talkative and grave,
That from his cage cries *cuckold, whore and knave*,
Tho' many a passenger he rightly call,
We hold him NO PHILOSOPHER at all."

And I the rather suppose the Secretary to be here in fault, since his Lordship, in one place, seems to think, that ribaldry and ill language disgrace the *animal implume bipes*, the *two-leg'd unfeathered Philosopher*. For, speaking of SPINOZA and HOBBS, he says, *Let it not be said, they are men of DEPRAVED UNDERSTANDINGS, AND DEPRAVED MORALS; THIS IS TO RAIL, NOT TO ARGUE.*

To *rail*, then, when we should *argue*, in his Lordship's opinion, is a fault. Unless

on the following stanza of his Friend's *Universal prayer*.

"Where I am right, THY GRACE IMPART,

"Still in the right to stay ;

"Where I am wrong, O TEACH MY HEART

"To find that better way."

you

you will suppose, these two *atheists* were especially favoured, because not found in bad Company; wickedly CONFEDERATING with *Divines* and *Metaphysicians*.

Seriously, as good men may be scandalized to find their Pastors accused and convicted of *blasphemy* and *prophaneness*; (for in his Lordship's process the proof is always included in the charge) it will be but right to tell the plain truth: which is no more than this, that his Lordship is very apt to annex *new ideas*, to *old words*; and not very apt to give us notice of his handy-work. As in the case before us, Who would suspect, that teaching, a *law of right reason*, common to God and man; and enforcing *man's obligation to imitate God*, were BLASPHEMY and PROPHANENESS? Yet such they are; or his Lordship's word is not to be taken [16].

So then, as what has hitherto been esteemed *Piety* is become *Blasphemy*; we need not wonder if his Lordship should turn

[16] *Divines have impudently and wickedly assumed that there is a Law of right reason common to God and man.* Vol. v. p. 77.—And again, TO PREACH UP THE OBLIGATION OF IMITATING GOD IS FALSE AND PROPHANE. Vol. v. p. 65.

old thread-bare blasphemy, into a new habit of piety: and this may be as proper to be observed, lest the same good men should be too much shocked at the horror of what comes next: For now his Lordship falls, with the same spirit, or, if you will, with his usual *wit and eloquence*, upon the TWO REVELATIONS and their FOUNDERS. And here, his *piety* pretends so much to the impulse of conscience, that you would suspect he thought himself, like St. PAUL, under the malediction of a woe if he *preached not his new Gospel*.

Of MOSES, he says, “It is impossible to
“excuse all the puerile, romantic, and absurd
“circumstances in the author of the
“Book of Genesis, which nothing could
“produce but the habit of dealing in trifling
“traditions, and a most profound ignorance. It is impossible to read what
“he has writ on this subject without feeling
“contempt for him as a philosopher,
“and horror as a Divine [17].”

“The PENTATEUCH has such evident
“marks of falsehood, as can be objected
“to no other writings, except to pro-

[17] Vol. iii. p. 233.

“ fess’d Romances, nor even always to
“ them [18].”

“ We may laugh at Don Quixote, for
“ reading Romances till he believed them
“ to be true histories, and for quoting
“ Archbishop Turpin with great solem-
“ nity ; but when Divines speak of the
“ PENTATEUCH as of an Authentic Hi-
“ story, and quote Moses as solemnly as
“ he did Turpin, are they much less mad
“ than he was [19] ?” *Don Quixote* is his
Lordship’s favorite simile ; and comes as
often over as either the *Ass* or *Lion* in Ho-
mer. If I was not half ashamed of using
what has been so long hacknied both by
Wits and Blockheads, I should be tempted
to borrow this simile ; and with the less
scruple, as his Lordship sets me the exam-
ple. What then, if I tried to apply it, for
once ? It shall suffer nothing in my hands ;
but be returned safe again to his Lordship,
to joke with to the end of the chapter.

Whoever attentively considers his Lord-
ship’s ESSAYS, will, I dare say, be of my
mind, That the much reading *his master*
LOCKE, who was deeply engaged with

[18] Vol. iii. p. 271. [19] Vol. iii. p. 280.

School-divines and Metaphysicians, had the same effect on his Lordship's temper, then in an advanced age, and under a bilious habit, that the reading books of Chivalry had on the prudent Gentleman of La Mancha. And, by his own confession, *a man's head is soon turned by complex and abstract ideas.* From henceforth the gigantic Forms of *Schoolmen* and the enchantments of *Metaphysical Divines* got entire possession of his Fancy. Consider what you can make of the following remark, without supposing with me, that these *mormos* had made a very deep impression. "That THEOLOGY, " says he, which pretends to deduce the " duties of man from speculations concerning the *moral attributes of God*, is to " be reckoned in the class with NATURAL " MAGIC [20]."

If you seek, I do not say for the *elegance*, but for the *common propriety* of this observation, any where out of his Lordship's own imagination, you will seek for it in vain. Yet, allow him but his *Theological Magicians*, and you see, their *theology* can be nothing else than *natural magic*.

So again, when he says — *Clarke shall not force me into Atheism; no nor Wollaston neither*; What is this, but *Don Quixote*, up and down? dreadfully afraid that these Necromancers would, at last, force him into their enchanted castle of a FUTURE STATE; raised, as he tells us, between *Divines and Atheists in confederacy*.

Indeed, every Reader must have observed this unaccountable rage and horror whenever a DIVINE comes cross his Lordship's fancy. One would think, they had served him the trick, the Enchanters plaid *Don Quixote*; that they had run away with his *Library*, and walled up his *Study-door*. Most true it is, that not long before this immense Treasure of the *first Philosophy* was given to the world, certain of these wicked Magicians had turned it all into *fairie-favours*: And the public on it's appearance found nothing better proved than the truth of the old proverb, *Pro Thesauro, Carbones*.

Let us be thankful, however, for what we have. And indeed, if I was not perfectly satisfied that no man in his senses could mistake the value of this *new Money*, I should make a scruple of laying so much of it

it before him ; especially the following *pieces*, which have an uncommon glow, as if they came hot from the place where they were minted.

“ THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE LAW
“ OF MOSES, like the whole system of his
“ conduct, WAS FOUNDED ON MURDER[1].

“ The *Jews* blended together, at once,
“ in the moral character of God, injustice,
“ cruelty, and partiality. They made him
“ an object of terror more than of awe
“ and reverence ; and their Religion was
“ a System of the RANKEST SUPERSTI-
“ TION [2].”

“ The JEWS with more inconsistency,
“ and not less profanation, than the Pa-
“ gans, dressed up the one supreme Being
“ in all the rags of humanity ; which
“ composed a kind of motley Character,
“ such as foolish Superstition, and mad
“ Enthusiasm alone could ascribe to him ;
“ and such as no man who believes him
“ an all-perfect being can hear without
“ horror [3].”

“ The Jews give such notions of the su-
“ preme Being as no People on earth, but

[1] Vol. v. p. 183.

[2] Vol. v. p. 531.

[3] Vol. v. p. 529.

“ this

“ this, would have ascribed, I do not say
 “ to God, but to the worst of those mon-
 “ sters, who are suffered or sent by God,
 “ for a short time, to punish the iniquity
 “ of men [4].”

From MOSES and JUDAISM, his Lordship descends to PAUL and CHRISTIANITY. Let us see whether he gives Them better quarter.

“ CHRISTIANITY abrogated the *Law*,
 “ and confirmed the *history of Moses*; from
 “ the times, at least, when St. PAUL un-
 “ dertook, like a true cabalistical Archi-
 “ tect, with the help of type, and figure,
 “ to raise a new System of religion on the
 “ old foundations [5].” “ The Gospel of
 “ CHRIST is one thing; the Gospel of St.
 “ PAUL another [6].” “ He preached a
 “ Gospel in contradiction to CHRIST’s, and
 “ directly repugnant to it [7].”

On this account, I suppose, it was, that he dignifies PAUL, with the elegant appellation of the LEATHER-DRESSING PONTIFF. But the immediate occasion of his conferring this new title on him, was particularly happy. His Lordship was on a favorite topic, he was abusing the first Messenger;

[4] Vol. v. p. 515.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 288.

[6] Vol. iv. p. 313.

[7] Vol. iv. p. 326—7.

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of the Gospel, for their claim to maintenance. He was conscious, PAUL came not within his censure. So that, lest this should give the Apostle too much credit; he informs the reader, in his polite way [8], that he had a *trade*, and could shift for himself. For it seems, nothing but downright starving will acquit the Apostles of theft and extortion, before his Lordship's Tribunal.

“ JESUS (in his opinion) had no intention of spreading his Religion further than amongst the *Jews*; but PAUL, bred at the feet of Gamaliel, saw further than that poor ignorant fisherman Peter.” The sense requires you should read, *that poor ignorant Carpenter Jesus*: and so without doubt his Lordship designed his compliment. Well, but what did PAUL see further? It was this, “ That the contempt and aversion in which both the nation and the Religion of the Jews were held by the rest of mankind, would make it much more easy to convert the Gentiles at once to Christianity, than to make them Jews first, in order to make them Christians afterwards [9].”

[8] Vol. iv. p. 423.

[9] Vol. iv. p. 306.

For it seems—"To DISSEMBLE was a
 " fundamental principle of apostolical con-
 " duct. PAUL practised it. We have his
 " own word for this; and he boasts of
 " it [10]." His Lordship lets us know,
 that *Paul* had assurance enough to do any
 thing. For speaking of the Apostle's famous
 argument *ad modestiam*—*Nay, but, O man,*
who art thou that repliest against God?
 &c. [11]. He says "There is something
 " so IMPUDENT, as well as absurd in this
 " proceeding, that, common as it is, one
 " can see no example of it without sur-
 " prise [12]."

"Can he be less than mad, says his
 " Lordship, who boasts a revelation su-
 " per-added to reason, to supply the de-
 " fects of it, and who super-adds rea-
 " son to revelation to supply the defects
 " of this too, at the same time? This is
 " madness or there is no such thing inci-
 " dent to our nature. And into this kind
 " of madness, ST. PAUL, profound in ca-
 " balistical learning, hath fallen [13]."
 And yet, as mad as it is, all States and So-
 cieties have matched it, when they *super-*

[10] Vol. iv. p. 306—7.

[11] Rom. ix. 20.

[12] Vol. iii. p. 307.

[13] Vol. iv. p. 172.

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added civil Laws, to natural conscience or Religion, to supply the defects of it; and superadded natural conscience or Religion to Civil Laws, to supply the defects of those too, at the same time. But more of this in it's place.

“ St. PAUL carried into the Apostle-
 “ ship a great deal of that ASSUMING
 “ AIR, which is apt to accompany much
 “ learning, *or the opinion of it*—a great
 “ profusion of words, and of involved
 “ and unconnected discourse, even on
 “ those subjects which required to be most
 “ clearly and distinctly developed. — He
 “ was a *loose paraphraser, a Cabalistical*
 “ *Commentator*, as much, *at least*, as any
 “ ancient or modern Rabbin [14].” “ St.
 “ PAUL'S system of Religion, is an *intricate and dark System, with, here and*
 “ *there, an intelligible phrase, that casts no*
 “ *light on the rest, but is rather lost in the*
 “ *gloom of the whole* [15].”---“ Having said
 “ so much of the *intelligibility of Paul's*
 “ *Gospel*, TRUTH authorises me to add,
 “ that where it is intelligible, it is of-
 “ ten ABSURD, OR PROPANE, OR TRI-

[14] Vol. iv. p. 326—7.

[15] Vol. iv. p. 328.

“FLING [16].”—“PAUL taught *predesti-*
nation and UNLIMITED PASSIVE OBEDI-
 ENCE: the one absurd, the other both
 absurd and IMPIOUS [17].”

Was it possible to laugh, in the midst of these horrors, what mortal could now forbear. *Unlimited passive obedience*, quoth he! The noble Lord had been so long accustomed to the cant of his Faction, which made St. Paul the preacher of I cannot tell what nonsense under that name, that he seems now in good earnest to believe he was so. A just judgment on the Politician; to come at last, to give credit to his own Flams. However, in this instance, at least, one would hope St. Paul might have been spared, if it were only for old-acquaintance-fake; and the hard service they had put the LEATHER-DRESSING PONTIFF upon. But it is bad trusting, we see, to the gratitude of Statesmen. Happy for us, PAUL has yet an able Defender; who will never be wanting in what he owes to gratitude and honour. I beg leave to say thus much, because as *Clarke* and *Wollaston* found the worse treatment for being the favourite

[16] Id. ib.

[17] Vol. iv. p. 510.

Philosophers of Q. C. (as is well known to those who were in the secret either of his passions or his party) so *St. Paul*, I am persuaded, did not fare the better for being patronized by his Lordship's illustrious Friend.

"CHRISTIANITY (says his Lordship)
 "became FANATICISM in the FIRST pro-
 "fessors of it. Men corrupted it by AR-
 "TIFICIAL THEOLOGY. And some will
 "be apt to think, that the first of these
 "men was PAUL — Divines will be FU-
 "RIOUS to hear SUCH LANGUAGE [18]."

Alas! No. He mistakes the mood, in which his works chanced to find them. They laugh at his vanity; and pity the FURY that inspired SUCH LANGUAGE. And he gives them ample exercise for all their pity: for having done with PAUL, he turns now to rail with the same virulence against CHRIST himself.

"The truth is, CHRISTIANITY pre-
 "served, in many respects, a strong tang of
 "the spirit of Judaism. The supreme Be-
 "ing took a milder appearance; his fa-
 "vour was confined no longer to one peo-
 "ple. The MESSIAH came and redeemed

[18] Vol. v. p. 275.

"fallen

“ fallen Man. CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY
 “ discovers in this mysterious proceeding
 “ the love of God to Man; his infinite
 “ justice and goodness. BUT REASON
 “ will discover the fantastical, confused
 “ and inconsistent notions of Jewish Theo-
 “ logy, latent in it; and applied to ano-
 “ ther system of Religion. *This love will*
 “ *appear partiality; this justice will appear*
 “ *injustice; this goodness will appear cruelty.*
 “ On the whole, the moral character im-
 “ puted to the supreme Being by Christian
 “ Theology differs little from that imputed
 “ to him by the Jewish. The difference is
 “ rather apparent than real [19].” “ The
 “ scene of Christianity has been ALWAYS a
 “ scene of dissention, of hatred, of perse-
 “ cution, and of BLOOD [20].”

Speaking of CHRIST'S *Sermon on the Mount*, his Lordship says, — “ Some [of
 “ the precepts] are directed to the *Jews*
 “ only, and some more immediately to
 “ the Disciples of Christ. The second
 “ sort seem fit enough for a *religious Sect*;
 “ but are by no means practicable in the
 “ general Society of Mankind. *Considered*
 “ *as general duties they are impracticable,*

[19] Vol. v. p. 532.

[20] Vol. iv. p. 511.

" *inconsistent with* NATURAL INSTINCT,
 " *as well as* LAW, *and* QUITE DESTRUC-
 " TIVE OF SOCIETY [1]."

" The CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY has de-
 " rived from the *Jewish*, a prophane li-
 " cence, which *makes men blaspheme without*
 " *knowing they blaspheme, and makes their*
 " *very devotion impious* [2]."

" I would sooner be reputed, nay I would
 " sooner be a Pagan, than a Christian, or an
 " Atheist than a Theist, if to be one or
 " the other it was necessary to believe such
 " ABSURDITIES as these ; which, however
 " disguised and softened by a *certain cant*
 " *of expression*, are directly PROPHANE ;
 " and indirectly, or by consequence at least,
 " *blasphemous* [3]."

" ALL THE BEDLAMs OF THE WORLD
 " cannot match the absurdities that have
 " been propagated by Christians, whether
 " heretics or orthodox, concerning the
 " *making and governing of the world by the*
 " *ministration of inferior Beings* : Beings
 " not eternal, but produced in time by *ema-*
 " *nation, or some other inconceivable manner*
 " *of generation* [4]."

[1] Vol. iv. p. 299, 300.

[2] Vol. v. p. 519.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 34.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 72.

“ We cannot believe the SCRIPTURES
 “ to be God’s *word*, tho’ we know the
 “ physical and moral System are his *Work*,
 “ while we find in them such repugnancies
 “ to the Nature of an all-perfect Being ;
 “ not mysteries, but absurdities ; not things
 “ incomprehensible, but things that imply
 “ manifestly contradiction with his Na-
 “ ture [5].”

In a word, he tells us, that “ THE RE-
 “ LIGION OF NATURE HAS BEEN TURNED
 “ ALMOST INTO BLASPHEMY BY REVE-
 “ LATION [6]. ” “ To believe (says he)
 “ that *Jesus was the Messiah* is said by
 “ some [meaning his *Master Locke*] to
 “ be the *unum necessarium* of FAITH,
 “ but TO OBSERVE THE LAW OF NATURE
 “ IS THE UNUM NECESSARIUM OF DU-
 “ TY [7].”

But now having exposed MOSES, CHRIST,
 and PAUL ; decried the falshood of the
 TWO REVELATIONS ; and ridiculed the
 absurdity of sacred SCRIPTURE ; he shews
 us, in mere charity, after the example
 of the WISE ALPHONSUS, how either sys-
 tem might have been mended, had his

[5] Vol. iii. p. 306, 7.

[6] Vol. iii. p. 498.

[7] Vol. iv. p. 410.

Lordship been consulted; while, like the WISE ALPHONSUS, he believes just as much of God's *Word*, as the Other did of his *Works*.

First, he hints, how the LAW might have been better planned. "God purchased the obedience of the *Jewish* People by a mercenary bargain. It was ill kept on their part. And the Law, with all it's sanctions, was continually violated; sometimes rejected; and had, in no degree, a force sufficient to maintain itself in observation and reverence. Now, one of the most conceivable perfections of a Law is, that it be made with such a foresight of all possible accidents, and with such provisions for the due execution of it, in all cases, that the *Law* may be effectual to govern and direct these accidents, instead of lying at the mercy of them. — Another the most conceivable perfection of a *Law* consists in the clearness and precision of its terms. — These will be found, no doubt, and ought to be expected, when God is the Legislator [8]."

[8] Vol. iii. p. 292, 3.

He next shews us, how he could have improved the GOSPEL, had he been of God's privy-counsel. "Had the doctrine
" of future rewards and punishments been
" taught by CHRISTIANITY in terms
" *more general and less descriptive*; had
" the punishments been represented, for
" instance, like the rewards, to be, sim-
" ply, such as eye never saw, nor ear
" heard, nor the heart of man could conceive,
" it might have been maintained in credit,
" and had an universal and real influence
" perhaps, to the great advantage of reli-
" gion [9]."

An inattentive Reader may be surprized, perhaps, at this wantonness of his Lordship's pen; that when he had given it as his fixed opinion, that all which the World hath hitherto called *Religion*, is a public mischief; and that a *future State* is an absurd fable; he should, with great formality, deliver in a plan which would have given *credit* and *real efficacy* to nonsense and impiety. But we must consider, He had been so long playing the PHILOSOPHER, that he had reason to apprehend we might forget the other part of his sub-

[9] Vol. v. p. 542.

lime Character, the LEGISLATOR. He therefore deemed it expedient to give us a slight cast of his office, in rectifying the blunders of MOSES and JESUS CHRIST.

With regard to MOSES and his *Law*, I have so much to say to his Lordship, that I shall reserve it for an after-reckoning. The other is but a small matter, and may be settled here.

I suspect then, our *Legislator* in this remark concerning Jesus's manner of revealing a *future state*, did not sufficiently attend to the nature of the human mind, nor to the genius of the Gospel. He would have, we see, the account of *future punishments as general*, and *as little descriptive*, as that of *future rewards*. He seems to think the latter managed well: But this propriety, he measures from the imaginary impropriety of the other: he appears to have no idea of any excellency it has in itself. We shall endeavour therefore to explain *why* this method of representing *future rewards* was right: By which it will appear, that the other, of representing *future punishments*, was not wrong.

To grow *particular* and *descriptive*, whether of future rewards, or future
punish-

punishments, men must borrow their images from *material and corporeal* things; because they have no faculties of sensation proper to comprehend ideas taken from things *Spiritual*. Now when a follower of Christ is so far advanced as to have his Faith work by *hope*, his sentiments grow refined, his ideas purify, and he is rising apace towards that perfection which the Gospel encourages him to aspire after. But while *fear of punishment* chiefly operates upon him, he is yet in the lowest stage of probation; his imagination is gross, and his appetites sensual. Is it not evident, then, that a *descriptive* Heaven of delights would be ill suited to that purity and elevation of mind, solely fixed by *hope*, on happiness; and as evident that a *general undefined* denunciation of Hell would not have force enough to make the necessary impression on a sensual fancy agitated by *fear*? Let not his Lordship's admirers, therefore, be offended, if we believe that, in this point, the Author of our Salvation went at least one step beyond their Master, in *true Politics*.

To proceed. From vilifying BOTH RELIGIONS, and their FOUNDERS, his Lord-

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ship comes, at length, to rail against the
 GOD of *both Religions*. And with this I
 shall close the horrid Scene.

“ IF WE BELIEVE IN MOSES, AND HIS
 “ GOD, WE CANNOT BELIEVE IN THAT
 “ GOD WHOM OUR REASON SHEWS US [10].

“ CAN ANY MAN PRESUME TO SAY
 “ THAT THE GOD OF MOSES, OR THE
 “ GOD OF PAUL, IS THE TRUE GOD?
 “ The God of MOSES is partial, unjust,
 “ and cruel; delights in blood, commands
 “ assassinations, massacres, and even exter-
 “ minations of people. The God of
 “ PAUL elects some of his creatures to
 “ salvation, and predestinates others to
 “ destruction, even in the womb of their
 “ mothers. And, indeed, if there was
 “ not a Being INFINITELY MORE PER-
 “ FECT than these, there would be no God
 “ at all, nor any true Religion in the
 “ world [11].”

Who, that had heard this dreadful lan-
 guage, without knowing from what quar-
 ter it came, but would strait have called to
 mind the words of the Satyrist?

[10] Vol. iii. p. 307.

[11] Vol. v. p. 567.

“ Not

“Not Danté, dreaming all th’ infernal State,
 “Beheld such scenes of envy, sin, and hate.

But when we understand them to be the ejaculations of this Noble Philosopher, the Confessor of Truth, the Advocate of Virtue, and the Restorer of banished Nature; employed, as he himself tells us, or rather *set apart*, TO PLEAD THE CAUSE OF GOD HIMSELF AGAINST DIVINES AND ATHEISTS IN CONFEDERACY [12]; when we consider all this, I say, What are we to think, but that they are the pious breathings of an over-heated zeal: and tho’ expressed in no consecrated terms; indeed, such as had been much worn in the service of the CRAFTS-MAN; yet when new-set in his Lordship’s immortal Panoply of the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, they may now prove as useful, to advance the *fear of God*, as before, to promote the *honour of the King*.

It is in HATE as in LOVE; hard to separate the *carnal* from the *divine* species; or rather they are but different ebullitions of the same species. Hence it is, that the melting strains of the *Mystic*, the *Methodist*, and the *Moravian*, so often smell of the

[12] Vol. v. p. 305.

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STEWs ; and hence, by parity of reason, the thunder of his Lordship's eloquence may naturally re-echo, as it were, from BILLINGSGATE.

But these things make You serious: and You ask, " Who, that hath ever heard Lord Bolingbroke's Story, would have suspected, that his GOD and his COUNTRY lay so near his heart? His *Political* and *Philosophic* Writings, say you, are full of *Lamentations*; where, like another Jeremy, he bewails the dishonours which wicked PRIESTS, and wicked POLITICIANS, have brought both upon Church and State: And, as is common in extreme fondness for our favourite Objects, he suffers himself to be alarmed with something less than panic terrors. He is afraid the *Whigs* will bring in the *Pretender*; and apprehends, the *english* Clergy have made large steps to introduce *Atheism*."

I know what You drive at. You would fain apply to his right honourable Person, the old trite aphorism, *That wicked principles spring out of a wicked life*. But what says another noble Peer to this? " Fain would " the Bigot, in consequence of his *moral* " *maxims*, and *political establishments*, con-
" found

“ found *licentiousness in morals* with liberty
 “ of thought and action; and make the li-
 “ bertine, who has the LEAST MASTERY
 “ OF HIMSELF, resemble his direct oppo-
 “ site [13].”

It may be so, you will say. But Lord Bolingbroke surely could never object to the imputation which *bad morals* cast upon a *Teacher of Truth*. He, who sees it so clearly, and presses it so charitably, upon the whole body of the *Christian Clergy*.

“ How (says his Lordship) can the
 “ CLERGY of your Church or of ours,
 “ pretend that they contribute now, or E-
 “ VER DID CONTRIBUTE, to the reforma-
 “ tion of mankind? No age can be pointed
 “ out, wherein ALL THE VICES, that Tully
 “ imputes to most of the heathen Philoso-
 “ phers, did not prevail AMONGST MOST
 “ of the Christian Divines with great cir-
 “ cumstances of aggravation. They have
 “ not only ALL THE VICES incident to
 “ human nature in common with other
 “ men, but they have had the peculiar
 “ Vices of their Order. I WILL SAY
 “ BOLDLY, they are, in general, much

[13] *Characteristics*, Vol. iii. Misc. 5. Chap. 3.

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“fitter to hinder, by their EXAMPLE,
 “than to promote by their DOCTRINE, the
 “Advancement of Religion, natural or
 “revealed.”

We have, it is true, been favoured with very ample accounts of the immoral conduct both of antient Philosophers and Modern Clergymen; and these, even by members of their own respective Bodies.

FREE-THINKERS have been more bashful: and, by their reserve and modesty on this head, one might have taken them for Saints, had it not been for the *Confessions* of one of them, the famous CARDAN; who, like another St. *Austin*, seems sworn to leave nothing behind him in the inkhorn. The account he gives of himself deserves transcribing for more reasons than one. — “In diem viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, illatæ injuriæ memorem, invindum, tristem, infidiatorem, proditorem, suorum osorem, turpi libidini deditum, solitarium, inamœnum, austerum, obscœnum, lascivum, maledicum, varium, ancipitem, impurum, calumniatorem [14] &c.” This was fair deal-

[14] *De vita sua.*

ing:

ing: and he who was so *free* with himself, might be pardoned if he spared no body else. But men don't use to be wanton on so nice a subject. *Freethinkers* have more mastery of themselves, says the noble Author of the *Characteristics*. And therefore whenever we see it done, let us conclude it to be for some great purpose; as, in emulation of the Christian Confessors, who, to display the powers of *Grace*, did not scruple to tell the world with great simplicity what they were by *Nature*; so Cardan to shew us, that the FIRST PHILOSOPHY is as efficacious in all great changes, has fairly told us how well befriended he had been by his *Stars*. However, let his design be what it will in presenting us with this picture of his amiable turn of mind, we are much beholden to him for setting the example. Tho', like all other good examples, it may possibly end where it begun; and the *first Philosophy* wait with patience for some less incommodious way of recommendation. And indeed, while Infidelity, which is the *cure*, is so unjustly supposed the *cause* of these Peccadillos, we need not wonder our Philosophers should be soon at liberty, and as soon disposed, to

turn their view from their own morals, upon the morals of the Clergy: and *say boldly*, with his Lordship, that *the order in general is much fitter to binder by their EXAMPLE, than to promote by their DOCTRINE, the advancement of Religion.*

What shall we say then? May it not be as well to leave the *examples*, of both, to shift for themselves; and to consider only their *Doctrines*? I think it is: And will therefore proceed from his Lordship's TEMPER, to his PRINCIPLES. But this must be the subject of another Letter.

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER II.

IT has been observed, that rare and extraordinary blessings, whether civil or religious, seldom come till hope grows desperate, and long expectation be quite wearied out. Then it is, the superior Genius bestirs himself, the crisis approaches, a *coup d'éclat* is struck, and the admiring world is taken in by surprise.

The case before us is an illustrious instance. Never was mankind in so deplorable a way as when his Lordship arrived; from what other System is not yet discovered: tho' his tuneful Friend was very positive he belonged not to this: Infomuch, that when the last Comet appeared, and came pretty near the Earth, he used to tell his acquaintance, he should not be surprized if in the event it proved, that it was sent only to convey his Lordship home again; just as a Stage-coach stops at your door to take up a Passenger. Be this as it will: bad indeed was our condition when his Lordship's arrived. — what shall I say, *to be a light to those who sat in darkness?* No, this is the work of meaner

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meaner Missionaries ; but, to RESTORE MANKIND TO THEIR SENSES.

For his Lordship, in his account of the general DELIRIUM which had seized the *Clergy*, had given us but a *specimen* of the human condition : the MADNESS was indeed UNIVERSAL. Infomuch, that (as he well expresses it) ALL THE BEDLAMs OF THE WORLD [1] were not sufficient for these things. And, to confess the truth, when was it, that the visions of an *over-heated and disordered imagination*, such as, belief in the *moral Attributes of God*, the *immortality of the Soul*, a *particular Providence*, and a *future State*, did not infect all times and places?

“ ALL EUROPE (says his Lordship) GREW
“ DELIRIOUS [2]. Christianity was left to
“ shift for itself in the midst of a FRANTIC
“ WORLD [3].” And again, “ OUR WORLD
“ seems to be, in many respects, THE BED-
“ LAM OF EVERY OTHER SYSTEM OF IN-
“ TELLIGENT CREATURES : and, with this
“ unlucky circumstance, that they who are
“ *most mad* govern, in things of the greatest
“ moment, them who are *least so* [4].”

[1] Vol. iv. p. 72.

[3] Vol. iv. p. 353.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 377.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 316.

By what is here dropt in the conclusion, you understand why his Lordship chose to make the Clergy lead up the *Brawls*; and the *Leather-dressing Pontiff* himself to preside in this mad dance, as Master of the Revels.

But to find all mankind mad, is more, perhaps, than you expected. What then? Is the madness less real for being universal? His Lordship's *Logic* says otherwise. And his Lordship's *Logic*, I can assure you, is not like his Theology, of yesterday; it comes of great Kindred. *Oliver Cromwell's* Porter had long ago enobled this very *Syllogism*. *I see plainly* (says this Sage) *that either I or all the world besides are mad: but as it is not I, it must needs be they.* And he was then advancing with large strides, as one may say, towards the *first Philosophy*; being indeed, at that time, a kind of *Rector magnificus* in the English College of Bethlehem.

Was it then, you will ask, some strange and evil disposition of the stars, that occasioned this universal insanity? So, indeed, it is reported [5]. The WORLD, it seems, like the men of *Abdera* [6], had seen a

[5] Vid. *D. N. J. C. geneseos thema*, inter Cardani Op. [6] See *Lucian's true history*.

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Tragedy represented to them in a very hot day: the subject of which left so strong an impression on their fancies, that they all thought themselves concerned in the catastrophe. Some ran about from country to country, to tell their story; and the rest have been ever since rehearsing and celebrating those affecting scenes, at home; till LORD BOLINGBROKE, like another HIPPOCRATES, came to their relief: and having first well physicked them of their Faith and their Visions, brought them to themselves, by applying to their hurt imaginations, the sovereign Restorative of his FIRST PHILOSOPHY. Of which, I am now, as I promised, to give you some account.

But to see this extraordinary man in a just light, it will be proper to shew what *Man* was before him. A RELIGIOUS ANIMAL he is on all hands allowed to be. And till the coming of this FIRST PHILOSOPHY, *Religion* was ever understood to rise on that wide basis, on which PAUL, tho' a *fanatical Knave*, had the *art* to place it; that "He who cometh to God must believe
" that he is: and that he is a REWARDER
" of them who diligently seek him [7]."

[7] Heb. xi. 6.

For

For till the arrival of his Lordship, men who supposed the infinite *goodness and justice* of God to be as demonstrable as his infinite *power and wisdom*, could not but conclude from his *moral attributes*, that he REWARDED, as well as from his *natural attributes*, that he CREATED.

On the more complex notion, therefore, of a MORAL GOVERNOR, all mankind supposed RELIGION to arise; and NATURALISM, the Ape of Religion, from the simpler notion of a PHYSICAL PRESERVER: which, however, they were ready to distinguish, on the other hand, from the *Unnaturalism* (if we may so term it) of *ranker Atheism*.

RELIGION, therefore, stands, and must, I think, for ever stand, on those two immoveable principles of PRESERVER and REWARDER, in conjunction.

The *length or shortness* of human existence was not primarily in the idea of Religion, not even in the complete idea of it, as delivered in ST. PAUL's general definition. "The Religionist, says he, must believe that God *is*, and that he *rewards*."

But when it came to be seen, that he was not always a *Rewarder* here, men con-

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cluded this life not to be the whole of their existence. And thus a FUTURE STATE was brought into Religion ; and from thenceforth became a necessary part of it.

To explain my meaning, if so clear a thing needs explanation. GOD, under the *physical* idea of *Preserver* and Creator appears uniform, regular, and instant to his *Creatures* : Under the *moral* idea of *Rewarder* and Governor, he seems frequently to be withdrawn from his *Servants*. For tho' in the moral dispensations of things here, good and evil be often proportioned to desert ; yet often, too, they are not so exactly adjusted. The Antient Religionist, therefore, confiding in his demonstration of the *moral* as well as the *natural* attributes of the Deity, concluded, That the *present* was not the only state ordained for man ; but that in some other life, these irregularities would be set right. Hence a FUTURE STATE became in all ages and countries (except one, where the moral administration of providence was different) inseparable from, and essential to, the various Religions of mankind. Even the mere Vulgar, who did not reach the force of this demonstration, yet seeing the
marks

marks of moral Government, amidst the frequent interruptions of it, embraced the doctrine of a *future State* with the same confidence as the Learned. For plain Nature had instructed them to reason thus, — If all were *regular*, nothing needed to be set right: and if all were *irregular*, there was no one to set things right.

Such was the ANTIENT RELIGION OF NATURE: To which, modern Divines have generally agreed to give the name of THEISM, when professed by those who never heard of REVELATION; and the name of DEISM, when professed by those who would never give credit to it.

In this State our noble Philosopher found the *religious World*; or, more properly, this was the language he heard resounding from one end of the earth to the other: But it was a language, he tells us, he did not understand. It was to his ears, *like the choirs of birds, who whistle and sing, or scream, at one another: or the herds of beasts, who bleat and low, or chatter and roar, at one another.* He rejects it, therefore in the lump, as one inarticulate din of ENTHUSIASM and ABSURDITY; the product of *pride and ignorance*; and, with

greater of his own, erects the FIRST PHILOSOPHY on it's ruins.

He permits us to believe, that an intelligent Cause made the world; and governs it, by his *physical* and *general* Laws; not by *moral* or *particular*.

He bids us to understand, that this World was no more made for man than for every animal besides: nor was man made for any other world, nor consequently, (as Divines have dreamt) for happiness.

That, by the *arbitrary constitution* of things in the human system (which may have a contrary disposition in other systems) Virtue promotes happiness^d and Vice brings on misery.

That THIS CONSTITUTION, together with the coactivity of CIVIL LAWS, contain all the rewards and punishments attendant on Virtue and on Vice.

That prayer, supplication, and every other office of Religion in use amongst men, to implore good, and to deprecate evil, are foolish and fanatical: for that all religious duty is comprized in *submission to the established order of things*.

He sums up his system in these words.
 “ A self-existent being the first cause of all
 “ things,

“ things, infinitely POWERFUL and infi-
 “ nitely WISE, is the God of natural Theo-
 “ logy. And the whole system of natural
 “ Religion rests on it, and requires NO
 “ BROADER FOUNDATION [8].” That is,
 it is enough for *him who cometh* to this
 new Religion, *to believe that God is*; and
 not that he is a REWARDER *of them who seek*
him. And again, “ When men have pro-
 “ ved the existence of an all-perfect being,
 “ the Creator and Governor of the Uni-
 “ verse, and demonstrated his infinite POW-
 “ ER and WISDOM, from his works, when
 “ they have done this, THEY HAVE DONE
 “ ALL; *this includes the whole of natural*
 “ *Theology, and serves abundantly to all the*
 “ *ends of natural Religion* [9].”

What these *ends of natural Religion* are
 he tells us very plainly. They are, to fit
 us for *our station here, and to supply our*
real wants in it. --- “ In like manner [that
 is, as he expresses it, *for the necessary uses*
of human life and no more] “ the know-
 “ ledge of the creator is on many accounts
 “ necessary to such a creature as man: and
 “ therefore we are able to arrive, by a pro-
 “ per exercise of our mental faculties, from

[8] Vol. v. p. 316. [9] p. 453.

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“ the knowledge of God's works, to a
 “ knowledge of his EXISTENCE, and of
 “ that infinite POWER and WISDOM which
 “ are demonstrated to us in them. OUR
 “ KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING GOD GOES
 “ NO FURTHER [10].”

Now tho' we should be so complaisant to these *principles* as not to call them ATHEISTIC, yet I am afraid the Professor of them, whoever he be, must be content with a name something like it. For tho' the *principles* may be called NATURALISM, yet if *Scripture* has defined an ATHEIST right, to be one who HAS NO HOPE, and is WITHOUT GOD IN THE WORLD [11] our Professor of Naturalism comes within the description. For tho' he acknowledges the being of a God, yet as he is *without a God in the world*, that is, a Being who presides over it, as the moral Governor of it, which is the foundation on which all Religion stands, Religionists will seek no other title for him. And surely he will be properly defined. For tho' the abstract term *Atheism* carries, as it's principal idea, a relation to God's BEING: yet, *Atheist*, the concrete, seems to have it's

[10] Vol. iv. p. 86. [11] Ephes. ii. 12.

chief relation to his GOVERNMENT. This is not observed for any kind of consequence it is to Religion, in what class the Public will be pleased to rank his Lordship; but merely to set in a true light the honourable Person's ingenuity, in assuming the character of an *Advocate for Religion*; at the very time he is labouring to root it out of human Society.

Old NATURALISM thus travestied under the name of *Religion*, his Lordship bestows, as his last and most precious Legacy, on his own dear Country. If you will believe him, the only *reformed Religion* that can be called *pure*, and the only *revealed Religion* that has the marks of *truth*. What the world hath hitherto called by that name being, as he assures us, an evil in itself; and mischievous to man by it's essential constitution. And he proves it, as they say, in mood and figure. — “ To keep up the
 “ sense of it [*i. e.* of *Religion*] in the
 “ minds of men, there seem to be but two
 “ ways. To STRIKE THE SENSES frequently, by public and solemn acts of
 “ religious worship; and to HEAT THE
 “ BRAIN by notions of an inward operation
 “ of the Spirit, and of a sort of mystical
 “ devo-

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“ devotion, independent of outward forms,
 “ and even INCONSISTENT with them. One
 “ of these leads to SUPERSTITION, the other
 “ to ENTHUSIASM. Both are silly—Super-
 “ stition is folly: Enthusiasm is madness.
 “ It is good to be on our guard against
 “ both.”

Without doubt. But how shall it be done? *Religion* is an evil in itself, and so admits of no qualification. It necessarily requires, as his Lordship tells us, on man's part, public acts of worship; and on God's, the private operation of the Spirit: But these lead to *superstition* and *enthusiasm*; that is, to *folly* and *madness*, to the destruction of our reasonable Nature. This is not all: these *necessary means* are not only hurtful but impracticable. You could not use them, was you foolish or mad enough to venture on them; for they are, he says, INCONSISTENT, and destroy one another. What then is to be done? To *be upon our guard*; to keep *Religion* at arms length, till his Lordship brings up his reserve of *Naturalism*, to our relief. Let this be our Shield of Brass; under which we may repose in peace, undisturbed by any frightful dreams of Hell and the Devil.

This,

This, Sir, is the *Enchiridion* of his Lordship's FIRST PHILOSOPHY. How simple, you will say, how close, how round, how full is this *new Dispensation*? A dispensation of *Religion* shall we call it? No matter. The times are ripe for it under any name. Yet I can hardly agree to those fancies, I told you of, which had possessed his poetical Friend: who, misled perhaps by that obscure hint, that *our World was only the Bedlam of every other system of intelligent Creatures* [12], supposed, in good earnest, his *Philosopher and Guide* to be sent down from some superior orb, as Physician to the Hospital. Without question he was made for the Age, and the Age for him. And they may well congratulate one another on the happy meeting. If we must be doctinated by a Poet, I should sooner a great deal believe the man who told me, that he heard the evil Genius of Britain address his Lordship on his first setting out, in these strains,

— “ Be as a planetary plague, when Jove
“ Will o’er some high-vic’d City hang his poison
“ In the sick air.” —

[12] Vol. iv. p. 353.

But

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But to go on with his System. It rises on these four principles.

First, That we have no adequate ideas of the MORAL ATTRIBUTES of God, his *goodness* and his *justice*, as we have of his NATURAL, to wit, his *power* and his *wisdom*.

Secondly, That A FUTURE STATE is a Fable.

Thirdly, That the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN Revelations are false. And

Fourthly, That REVELATION ITSELF is impossible.

Indulge me with a few remarks on his management, under each of these heads.

I. Divines, in their proof of the *moral attributes*, having of late much insisted on the arguments *a priori*, as they are called, his Lordship suspected, and what he suspects of ill he always takes for granted, that they could not be proved *a posteriori*, or from *God's works*; the way by which, he owns, his *natural attributes* may be demonstrated. So that having pronounced the arguments *a priori* to be *jargon, nonsense, impiety and blasphemy*; the *moral attributes* of God are fairly erased at once out of the *intellectual system*. And he had no farther trouble on this head than to decorate CLARKE, who was chiefly conversant

conversant in the reasoning *a priori*, with variety of abusive names.

As to the Argument, our great Man's respect for that is so profound and so distant, that I defy any one unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings, even to guess what kind of things they are for which the famous Minister of St. *James's* is so severely handled. For while the *Divine* suffers, the *Reasoner*, as we say, always escapes. Now indeed you see him seized upon, and ready, as you would think, to be cut up alive, and immolated to the *first Philosophy*; when a *fit of railing* shakes his Lordship; and the Storm falls upon the whole Body of *modern Schoolmen*: And so the Doctor escapes for that time. He is again laid hold on, and every thing ready for execution; when a *fit of learning* comes upon his Lordship; and *Pythagoras, Plato, Socrates*, and the whole band of *ancient Metaphysicians* pass in review, and each receives a lash as he passes: And so the Doctor escapes for the second time. After this, his Lordship, as is fitting, takes his ease; more intent upon triumph than blood-shed; and in the midst of much self-applause
for

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for these exploits his ESSAYS end, and the *subtile* Doctor remains unhurt.

But when need requires, I would have you think, that no avocation can keep him from his Logic. Marry, then, on some great occasion indeed, as when the *novelty* of the subject invites, or the true state of it is little known, you shall have no reason to complain of brevity: then you shall see him employ one half of his book to prove the corruptions of the CHURCH OF ROME, and near another half, to expose the jargon of the SCHOOLMEN.

The truth is, Clarke knew not how to reason, and so needed no confutation. *In the name of God* (says my Lord, of the Doctor's reasonings) *is this to prove? Do men who prove no better deserve an answer* [13]? But, go further, and you may fare worse. For speaking of the whole Order, he says, "THE PERTNESS, NOT TO SAY THE IMPUDENCE, OF THESE MEN DESERVES NO REGARD [14]." Besides, I suspect the *arguments* are as IMPUDENT as the *men*, for they pretend to no less than to *demonstrate* God's *moral attributes* and the *immateriality of the Soul*. His Lordship therefore

[13] Vol. v. p. 284.

[14] Vol. iv. p. 325.

chose that his *modest* reasonings, rather than be overborn, should lye incog. and keep in disguise, like *Bays's* army in the *Rehearsal*; till, without noise, or so much as a review, they had dethroned the *two Kings of Brentford*, CLARKE and WOLLASTON, before any body suspected they were in danger.

2. We come to the second point, the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE: which being supported by the great moral argument of “the unequal distribution of good and evil amongst men,” his Lordship, as I promised you, is as large in confuting this as he was sparing in his answer to the metaphysical proofs of the *moral attributes*.

He first endeavours to shew the argument to be founded on a mistaken fact, and that there is no such *unequal* distribution: He is almost tempted to tell you, that every thing is exactly regular and in order. But a paradox that flies so *impudently*, to use his own language, in the face of common sense, is too unmanagable even for his Lordship's talents: he comes down lower at last; and appears to be tolerably satisfied, if you will but believe the inequality not near so great as *pulpit-Declaim-*

ers would make it: That the disorders which follow the abuse of man's free will are not to be placed to the account of that dispensation; which our pride and presumptuous ignorance make us think God is obliged to reform. However, equal or unequal, his capital maxim clears up all. *WHATSOEVER IS, IS RIGHT*: and therefore the argument of these *confederated* Divines which goes upon a supposed *WRONG*, is *absurd and blasphemous*. Whatever *answer* this reasoning may deserve, I believe no man who understands the world will expect that a well-bred man should give any.

But I cannot omit, on this occasion, to do justice to his poetical Friend; by shewing the difference between Mr. POPE's Philosophy and his Lordship's. They both employ the maxim of *Whatever is, is right*. But to know, with what propriety and judgment, we must consider against whom they write.

Mr. Pope's *Essay on man* is a *real* vindication of Providence against *Libertines* and *Atheists*; who quarrel with the present constitution of things, and deny a future State. To these he answers that *whatever is, is right*: and the reason he gives, is, that *we*
see

see only a part of the moral system, and not the whole ; therefore these irregularities serving to great purposes, such as the fuller manifestation of God's goodness and justice, they are right.

Lord Bolingbroke's *Essays* are a pretended vindication of Providence against an *imaginary confederacy between Divines and Atheists* ; who use a common principle, namely, the *inequalities in God's moral government here*, for different ends and purposes ; the One to establish a *future State* ; the Other to discredit the *Being of a God*. His Lordship, who opposes their different conclusions, endeavours to overthrow their common principle, by his Friend's maxim, that *whatever is, is right* ; not because the present state of our *moral world* (which is part only of a more general system) is necessary for the greater perfection of the whole, but because our *moral world* is an entire system of itself.

His Lordship *applies* the maxim no better than he understands it. Mr. Pope urges it against Atheists and Libertines, who say the constitution of things is *faulty* : so that the reply, *whatever is, is right*, is pertinent. His Lordship directs it, against

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Divines,

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Divines, who say, indeed, that this constitution is *imperfect*, if considered separately, because it is a part only of a whole, but are as far as his Lordship from calling it *faulty*: therefore the reply, *whatever is, is right*, is impertinent. In a word, the Poet directs it against Atheists and Libertines, in support of Religion properly so called; the Philosopher against Divines, in support of Religion improperly so called, namely NATURALISM: and the success is answerable. Mr. Pope's argument is manly, systematical, and convincing. Lord Bolingbroke's confused, prevaricating, and inconsistent.

Thus, to instance in his Lordship. He will have nothing irregular or amiss in the *moral world*; because this is Atheism, and the very bond of that *confederacy* signed and sealed between Divines and them. In vain you tell him of a *future state*, to vindicate the providence of God; this is absurd and visionary. But, if you talk of *physical evil*, he has his answer ready, *this world is but one wheel of a vast machine*. You will ask, then, if the superior good of other parts of the great system of Nature can compensate for the *physical evil* in this, why will not his Lordship allow the reasoning of

of Pope, in the *Essay on man*, that the superior good in another part of the *moral system* may compensate for the *moral evil* in this? I will tell you, he can allow any other parts to belong to the system of nature, for the solution of *physical evil*, without the danger of bringing in Religion: but he cannot, without that danger, allow any other part to belong to the system of morals, for the solution of *moral evil*. Here, he can allow no more to belong to the system than he sees: indeed, not so much: for, as I said above, he appears well inclined to contend for an *equal providence*, or, at least, for very little irregularity.

But why, you will ask again, would his Lordship run himself into all this hazard, sometimes of discrediting his reasoning by a silly paradox; sometimes of betraying it by an unwilling confession; while at best he gives it but the poor support of a misunderstood and misapplied maxim; when his great and noble principle of NO MORAL ATTRIBUTES enervates the very *fact*, so audaciously urged by the CONFEDERACY. For if we have no ideas of God's *moral attributes*, the issue of our reasoning on

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his ways will be the same as if he had none. And if he has none, they need not, sure, be vindicated: which is the sole purpose of his reasoning on the state of the moral world. All I can say to this is, that his Lordship appears to have been so harraſſed with this phantom of a FUTURE STATE, that no Charm, no Security was to be neglected that could contribute to his ease or protection. Hence it is he will depend on neither of his arguments, of — *no inequality* or — *but a little*: and is as shy of them, as they are of one another; and therefore, to make all sure, caſts about for a third of more acknowledged efficacy.

And this he finds in the SOUL'S MATERIALITY. From whence, he contrives to persuade himſelf that it can be no *ſubſtance* (which he calls *pneumatical madneſs*) but a mere *quality* of body, produced by the configuration of it's parts, and perishing with their diſſolution. I ſay, he contrives to persuade *himſelf*; and I mean no more. Had his point been to persuade his Reader, we muſt ſuppoſe he would have ventured, at leaſt, to confute the arguments of CLARKE and BAXTER: who,

who, on the principles of the Newtonian Philosophy, have demonstrated *that the soul is a substance*, distinct from the body, and different from matter. Instead of this, he flies to his usual consolation, ABUSE. He calls them *impious* and *blasphemers* for presuming to limit the omnipotent: when the highest of their presumption amounts but to this, the supposing *God can exert no power, which implies a contradiction*; since this imaginary power is indeed *impotency*. Nay, he would willingly persuade himself there were no such arguments in being. For, speaking of the reasoning, which induced men to conclude, the soul was a substance, distinct from the body, he represents it thus, “Men taking it for granted that
 “ they knew all the perceivable properties
 “ of matter, they concluded that such
 “ things as could not be accounted for by
 “ these, were to be accounted for by the
 “ properties of some other substance [13].”
 And again, “Vanity and presumption de-
 “ termine Philosophers to conclude, that
 “ because they cannot account for the phæ-
 “ nomena of the mind by what they know

[13] Vol. iii. p. 502.

“ very superficially of solid extended sub-
 “ stance, this mind must be some other sub-
 “ stance [14].” Such, indeed, was the state
 of the controversy when LOCKE skimmed o-
 ver the argument. But CLARKE and BAX-
 TER went to the bottom. They draw their
 conclusion, not in the presumption that
 they knew all the knowable qualities of
 matter, and that between these and *Thought*,
 there was no perceivable connexion; but
 from this deep and solid truth, that from
 the little we do know of body, there arises
 a contradiction to suppose *intelligence* to be
 a quality of matter.

We have the same reasoning on the *mo-
 tion of body*. “ They are unable (says
 “ his Lordship) to conceive how body can
 “ act at all, and therefore they suppose
 “ the immediate presence and action of
 “ an incorporeal agent in every operation
 “ of corporeal nature [15].” Whereas the
 truth is, they are able to conceive the im-
 possibility of bodies acting at all: and,
 from thence see the necessity of an *incor-
 poreal agent in every operation of corporeal
 nature*. You will think, perhaps, his Lord-

[14] Vol. iii. p. 508-9. [15] Vol. iv. p. 108.

ship knew no more of this question than as it stood in his *Master Locke*; and that he had never heard of *Baxter*, who has carried it furthest, and treated it the most profoundly. I should have thought so too, but that I find his Lordship, in one place, speaking with that contempt of *Baxter's* reasoning which is his wont, whenever any thing he cannot answer bears hard upon the *first Philosophy*. It is where he honours us with his own thoughts concerning ATTRACTION. “Attraction, (saith his “Lordship) may be, notwithstanding all “the *silly abstract reasoning* to the contrary, “a REAL PROPERTY OF MATTER [16].” Now you are to understand that *Baxter*, when he has evinced the truth of NEWTON's idea of *attraction* (who makes it no *real*, or essential, *property of matter*) employs this idea to prove, that it implies a *contradiction* to suppose the soul may be a quality of matter. This great truth, deep reflection, and a thorough comprehension of the Newtonian Philosophy, enabled *Baxter* to demonstrate. On the other hand, no reflection, no Philosophy, but mere in-

[16] Vol. iii. p. 547.

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tuitive knowledge, led his Lordship to conclude that it is so far from being a *contradiction*, that it is a real fact, that the *soul is a quality of matter*. But, hear his own marvelous words, “ I am persuaded that
 “ God can make material systems capable
 “ of thought, because I must renounce one
 “ of the kinds of knowledge that he has
 “ given me, and the first, tho’ not the
 “ principal in the order of knowing, or
 “ admit that HE HATH DONE SO [17].”
 Locke only contended for the bare *possibility*. His Lordship has found it to be a fact. So fairly has the disciple outdone his Master.

3. But let us now go on with the great principles which support his Lordship’s System. His third is the FALSHOOD of the *Jewish* and *Christian* REVELATIONS. And here you will find no argument omitted that bears with the least force against either of them. It is true, not one of them is his own. I mean, of those deserving the name of argument. They are all borrowed from the minute Philosophers who went before him. And, of these his Lord-

[17] Vol. iii. p. 531.

ship

ship is a very observant and humble imitator.

His attack on revealed Religion is in two parts. The *first*, a confutation of it's truth, as it lies in it's purity, in sacred Scripture: the *second*, an insinuation of it's falshood, as it is seen in it's abuses and corruptions, in particular Churches.

Judaism is attacked more fully and avowedly in the first way: and *Christianity*, in the second.

1. All the arguments against Revelation, as it is represented in the Bible, are taken from BLOUNT, TOLAND, COLLINS, CHUBB, MORGAN, and their fellows. I must, except, indeed, the atrocious terms in which they are commonly enforced. For the iniquity of the times would not suffer those confessors of truth *to put forth more than half their strength*, as his Lordship himself assures us [18]. When I say his arguments are all taken from these men, I do not speak it, in disparagement of the reasoning. On the contrary, this is by far the most plausible part of these voluminous *Essays*.

[18] Vol. iv. p. 163.

One thing, indeed, falls out unluckily. All his Lordship's great originals professed to believe the MORAL ATTRIBUTES of the deity, in common with the rest of mankind: And on that principle enforced their arguments against the truth of revealed Religion: and indeed what other principle is there that will afford ground for a single objection against it? Now his Lordship professes to have no idea of these *moral attributes*. No matter. They were necessary to be taken into service here, for the completion of his schemes. And a Philosopher can drop his principle as a politician does his friend, when he is of no use, and renew his acquaintance again when he wants him. These discarded *attributes* therefore are on this occasion taken into favour; soon again to be dismissed, and his OLD PRINCIPLE reassumed, when he wants to guard against the terrors of a future state; in which, to do it justice, it performs true Knights-service. Much indeed is it to be lamented, that his *old principle* should ever grow capricious; and that when it had so effectually excluded God's moral Government as recommended by *natural Religion*, it should oppose itself to those arguments

ments which are for excluding God's moral government as recommended by *Revelation*.

An historical deduction of the abuses and corruptions of Christianity in the CHURCH OF ROME, to advance superstition, fanaticism, and spiritual tyranny, makes the second part of his Lordship's reasoning against REVELATION; and the subject of the largest of his *four Essays*.

On this head he expatiates in all the forms of Piety, Patriotism, and Humanity. He bewails the dishonours done to Religion; he resents the violations of civil Liberty; and he vindicates the common sense of mankind from the scholastic jargon of an ignorant, debauched, and avaricious Clergy.

Felicia tempora, quæ te
Moribus opponunt: habeat jam ROMA pudorem.

On so trite a topic, the topic of every true Protestant from Fox to Mr. Chandler, that is, from the first to the last good writer upon the subject, his Lordship may be excused for unloading his Common-place. Whatever there is of a better taste, he has taken from Hooker, Stillingfleet, Barrow, and such

such other of the English Clergy who have most successfully detected the errors and usurpations of Popery.

But as the object of our Divines in this detection was to recommend the Gospel-truth ; and of his Lordship, to discredit it ; he had need of other helps : And these, too, were at hand ; such as Hobbes, Toland, Tindal, Gordon ; whom he faithfully copies, both in exaggerating the abuses, and in drawing false consequences from the reform of them. Thus, according to those Divines who wrote *for truth*, SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY was modestly complained of as hindering the advancement of real knowledge ; as keeping men busied in trifling controversies, and as making them often mistake words for things. But with my Lord, and these his better guides, who wrote *against Revelation*, SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY is boldly accused to have blotted out all knowledge, and to have left nothing in it's stead but *madness, frenzy, and delirium*.

So again, The end of those Divines in exposing human usurpations, was to introduce a RELIGIOUS SOCIETY on the principles of Gospel-liberty : but the end of these Philosophers in decrying Popery is to establish

blish a *civil*, in the place of a *religious* usurpation, and to make the CHURCH A CREATURE OF THE STATE.

In the mean time, he says *boldly* and well,
 “ That some men are IMPUDENT enough
 “ to *pretend*, others SILLY enough to be-
 “ lieve, that they adhere to the Gospel,
 “ and maintain the cause of God against
 “ infidels and heretics, when they do no-
 “ thing better nor more than expose the
 “ conceits of men [19].” But while he
 is thus busy in observing what happens at
 one end of this common fallacy, he suffers
 himself to slip in, at the other : and does
 just the same *against* the Gospel, which
 these men do *for* it. He exposes the kna-
 very of powerful Churchmen, and the folly
 of profound Divines ; and then *pretends*, or
believes, he hath discredited Revelation itself.
 However, to part friends with the *Di-*
vines, after so many hard words, he teaches
 them how to prop up, in some *plausible*
 way, their bungling systems of ARTIFI-
 CIAL THEOLOGY, just as he had before
 taught God Almighty himself to mend his
two Dispensations. “ Let us (says he)
 “ suppose a Theist objecting — the be-

[19] Vol. iv. p. 385.

“ liever

“liever might reply — he might add —
 “he might add — and all this with great
 “*plausibility* at least [20].” You will say
 now, I envy my Lord the glory of his
 instructions to defend *artificial theology*, or
 otherwise I, who am not sparing of my
 quotations, would have given them at
 large. To tell you the truth, I suppressed
 them with design ; to excite the Reader’s
 curiosity. It is said there is occasion for
 it : and that the Public does not yet appear
 disposed to pay that profound attention to
 the *first Philosophy* as might be wished on
 the first appearance of so great a blessing.
 You will suspect, by what you have seen
 in my first Letter, that the Public may be
 somewhat *overdosed*, and so has *kecked* a
 little. But it is to be hoped, his Followers
 will soon reconcile them to their *Phyfic*.

4. His Lordship’s fourth and last great
 principle is the IMPOSSIBILITY of REVE-
 LATION in general.

He has refused no arms, we see, to com-
 bat the Revelations God hath *actually*
given. He would seem to relax a little of
 his severity, as to those which God may
possibly give : for in one place he says, *he*

[20] Vol. v. p. 279.

will

will not absolutely pronounce against the possibility of God's revealing his will to man. But whether he equivocates, whether he altered his mind, or whether he simply forgot himself (a matter of little consequence) most true it is, that he hath formally laid down, and largely insisted upon, certain principles, which make *revealed Religion* a thing UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE.

First, As to INSPIRATION, he not only denies all *reality* in the thing, but will not allow so much as any *meaning* in the word. And a MIRACLE, he holds to be impossible, what never was, nor ever can be. But now, without the *first*, no divine messenger could be sent; for he must receive his orders from God: and without the *second*, no divine messenger would be believed; for he must have his credentials to shew to Man: and these credentials, on his Lordship's own principles, can be no other than *miracles*.

But here again you are to observe, that on this subject likewise Infidelity is no more indebted to him than for his good will. All he urges against *inspiration* and *miracles* having been first urged by HOBBS and SPINOZA: by the one, with more subtilty
and

and exactness ; by the other, with infinite more elegance.

Secondly, His Lordship holds the RELIGION OF NATURE to be full, perfect, and well understood. He holds, likewise, that the only conceivable purpose of *Revelation* must be to *republisk* the *Religion of Nature*. The consequence is, and this his Lordship gives us to understand, he saw, that the use of *Revelation* becomes superseded. For if it teaches *more* than natural Religion taught, or *different* from what it taught, the Revelation must be false ; if only the *same*, it is evidently superfluous.

Thirdly, His Lordship utterly rejects a PARTICULAR PROVIDENCE. But a revealed Religion is nothing else than the exercise of that very providence to some declared end in the moral System.

On all these accounts, he concludes, and consequentially enough, that REASON HAS NOTHING FURTHER TO DO, WHEN REVELATION BEGINS [20].

You have now, Sir, the whole of his Lordship's SYSTEM, together with his topics in support of it, both very succinctly

delivered: enough however to shew you that these famous ESSAYS which you have heard so often cried up as the very Mine, the native Treasury of all divine and human truths, are indeed little other than the *Magazine* or Warehouse of other men's lumber: or (not to dishonour his Lordship by a mechanical comparison) like the mouth of your neighbouring SEVERN, turbulent and dirty: which, let fableing *Poets* say what they please, we are sure never derived it's source from the pure and perennial Urn of a *Demi-god*: but, if one may guess from the taste and colour, became thus considerable for it's bulk by the confluence of shallow brooks and babbling rivulets; of stagnant ditches, common-sewers, and yet stranger mixtures; scoured off and put into a ferment by the hasty rage of some peevish land-torrent.

THE main pillar of his System, you see, is this extravagant paradox, *That we have NO ADEQUATE ideas of God's moral attributes, his GOODNESS and JUSTICE, as we have of his natural, his Wisdom and Power.* And here, let me observe once for all, that his Lordship uses the words, *inadequate*
H *ideas*

ideas, and, *no ideas*, as terms of the same import. And as I think, not improperly, I have followed him in the indifferent use of either expression. For the reason of his calling our ideas of God's *moral attributes*, INADEQUATE, is, because he denies goodness and justice to be the same IN KIND, in God as in Man: But if not the same *in kind*, we cannot surely have *any* idea of them, because we have no idea of any *other kind* of goodness and justice.

As the reasoning on this head, contrary to his usual wont, is entirely his own; and besides, an extreme curiosity in itself, I will once more go a little out of my way, to set it in a true light; that it may neither impose by it's novelty; nor too much shock you and all good men by it's unchecked atrocity. The rest are adopted impieties, of a paultry plebeian race; but inserted, tho' in a contrary course, into this noble stock, with the spirit of CLODIUS's famous adoption of old, only for the sake of public mischief.

His three Positions are, That, by *metaphysics*, or the reasoning *a priori*, we can gain no knowledge of God at all.

That our knowledge of his *attributes* are to be acquired only by a contemplation
on

on his *Works*, or by the reasoning *a posteriori*.

That in this way, we can only arrive at the knowledge of his *natural* attributes, not of his *moral*.

“ It is from the constitution of the
“ world ALONE (says his Lordship) and
“ from the state of mankind in it, that we
“ can *acquire any ideas* of the divine attri-
“ butes, or a *right to affirm any thing about*
“ *them* [1].”

“ The knowledge of the Creator is on
“ many accounts necessary to such a crea-
“ ture as man : and therefore we are made
“ able to arrive by a proper exercise of our
“ mental faculties, *from a knowledge of*
“ *God's works to a knowledge of his existence,*
“ and of that infinite POWER and WISDOM
“ which are demonstrated to us in them.
“ OUR KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING GOD
“ GOES NO FURTHER [2].”

“ Artificial Theology connects by very
“ problematical reasoning *a priori*, MORAL
“ *attributes*, such as we conceive them,
“ and such as they are relatively to us,
“ with the *physical* attributes of God;
“ tho' there be no sufficient foundation

[1] Vol. v. p. 331.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 86.

“ for this proceeding, nay, tho’ *the phæ-*
 “ *nomena are in several cases repugnant*[3].”

Having thus assured us that the ideas of God’s *moral attributes* are to be got by no reasoning at all, either *a priori* or *a posteriori*, the only two ways we have to knowledge; He rightly concludes, that if man has such ideas, they were not *found* but *invented* by him. And therefore, that nothing might be wanting to the full dilucidation of this curious point, he acquaints us who were the Authors of the fiction, and how strangely the thing came about.

“ Some of the Philosophers (says his
 “ Lordship) having been led by a more full
 “ and accurate contemplation of Nature to
 “ the knowledge of a supreme self-existent
 “ Being of infinite *power and wisdom*, and
 “ the first Cause of all things, were not
 “ contented with this degree of knowledge.
 “ They MADE A SYSTEM of God’s MO-
 “ RAL as well as *physical* attributes, BY
 “ WHICH TO ACCOUNT FOR THE PRO-
 “ CEEDINGS OF HIS PROVIDENCE [4].”

These Philosophers then, it seems, *in-*
vented the system of God’s *moral attributes*,
 in order to account for the difficulties arising

[3] Vol. v. p. 316.

[4] Vol. iv. p. 48.
 from

from the view of God's moral government. If the World had till now been so dull as to have no conception of these Attributes; his Lordship's Philosophers, we see, made ample amends; who were so quick witted as to conceive, and so sharp sighted as to perceive, the obliquities of a *crooked* line before they had got any idea of a *straight* one. For just to this, neither more nor less, does his Lordship's profound observation concerning this profounder discovery amount, when he says, *they made a System of God's moral attributes, by which to account for the proceedings of his Providence.*

This *invention* of his Lordship's old Philosophers would put one in mind of an ingenious Modern, the curious SANCHO PANÇA; who, as his historian tells us, was very inquisitive to find out the Author of that very useful *invention* we call SLEEP: for, with this worthy Magistrate, Sleep and good Cheer were the *First Philosophy*. Now the things sought after by Sancho and his Lordship were at no great distance: for if *Sleeping* began when men first shut their eyes, it is certain the *idea of God's Goodness* appeared as soon as ever they opened them.

Dr. Clarke's Demonstration of the moral attributes *a priori*, I shall leave, as his Lordship is pleased to do, in all it's force. If the Doctor's followers think their Master's honour concerned, where his arguments are not, they have a large field and a safe to shew their prowess.

I rather chuse to undertake his Lordship on his own terms, without any other arms than the arguments *a posteriori*. For he is such a Champion for the good Cause, that he not only appoints his adversaries the field, but prescribes to them the use of their weapons.

But his Lordship, like other great men, is not easily approached; and when he is, not always fit to be seen. You catch his FIRST PHILOSOPHY, as Butler's Hero did Aristotle's FIRST MATTER, *undressed, and without a rag of form*, but flaunting and fluttering in FRAGMENTS. To speak plainly, his Lordship's entire want of method betrays him into endless REPETITIONS: and in these, whether for want of precision in his ideas, propriety in his terms, or art in his composition, the question is perpetually changing; and rarely without being new covered by an equivocal expression. If you add to this, the
perpetual

perpetual CONTRADICTIONS into which he falls, either by defect of memory, excess of passion, or distress of argument, you will allow it to be no easy matter to take him fairly, to know him fully, and to represent him to the best advantage; in none of which offices would I be willingly defective. Indeed, when you have done this, the business is over; and his Lordship's reasoning generally confutes itself.

When I reflect upon what this has cost me, no less than the reading over two or three bulky Volumes to get possession of a single argument; which now you think you hold, and then again you lose; it meets you full when you least expect it, and it slips away from you the very moment it promises to do most: when, I say, I reflect upon all this, I cannot but lament the hard luck of our CLERGY, who, tho' least fit, and indeed least *concerned*, as there is nothing that can impose on a Scholar, and a great deal that may mislead the People, are likely to be the men most engaged in this controversy with his Lordship. Time was, when if a Writer had a disposition to seek objections to Religion, tho' he found them hardly, and they moved heavily, yet he would digest his thoughts, and range his arguments, and me-

thodize his reasoning. The Clergy had then nothing to do but to answer him, if they could. But since this slovenly custom (as Lord SHAFTSBURY calls it) of *taking their physic in public*, has got amongst our Free-thinkers, that is, of doseing themselves well with doubts; and then as hastily discharging their loose and crude indigestions into *Fragments*; things which, in their very name, imply not so much the want, as the exclusion of all *Form*; the advocate of Religion has had a double labour: he must work them into consistence, he must mould them into shape, before he can lay hold of them safely, or present them handsomely. But these Gentlemen have taken care that a Clergyman should not be idle. He finds the same to do in the discharge of his *office pastoral*. All he had of old to attend was the saving the souls of those committed to his care. He must now begin his work a great deal higher; he must first convince his flock that they have a soul to be saved. And the spite of all is, that at the time his kind masters have thus doubled his task, they appear very well disposed to lessen his wages.

We have observed, that the DENIAL of God's *moral attributes* is the great barrier
against

against Religion in general: but it is more especially serviceable in his Lordship's idiosyncratic terrors; the terrors of a *future State*. To these we owe his famous book of FRAGMENTS, composed occasionally, and taken as an extemporaneous cordial, each stronger than the other, to support himself under his frequent paroxysms.

For, set the *moral attributes* aside, and we can neither form any judgment of the *end* of man, nor of the *nature* of God's moral government. All our knowledge will be then confined to our *present* state and condition. It is by these attributes alone, we learn, that man was made for *happiness*; and that God's dispensation to us *here* is but *part* of our moral system: This naturally extends our views to, and terminates our knowledge in, the certainty of a *future state*.

The FATE of all Religion therefore being included in the question of God's *moral attributes*, I hold it of importance to prove, against his Lordship, that MEN MAY ACQUIRE ADEQUATE IDEAS OF THEM in the same way, and with equal certainty, that his Lordship in the following words hath shewn us, we acquire the knowledge of God's *natural attributes*.

“ All

“ All our knowledge of God (says he)
 “ is derived from his works. Every part
 “ of the immense universe, and the or-
 “ der and harmony of the Whole, are
 “ not only conformable to our ideas or
 “ notions of WISDOM and POWER, but
 “ these ideas and notions were impressed
 “ originally and principally by them, on
 “ every attentive mind; and men were led
 “ to conclude, with the utmost certain-
 “ ty, that a Being of infinite *wisdom* and
 “ *power* made, preserved, and governed
 “ the system. As far as we can discover,
 “ we discern these in all his works; and
 “ where we cannot discern them, it is
 “ manifestly due to our imperfection, not
 “ to his. This now is real knowledge,
 “ or there is no such thing as knowledge.
 “ We acquire it immediately in the objects
 “ themselves, in God, and in Nature, the
 “ work of God. We know what *wisdom*
 “ and *power* are: we know both intuitive-
 “ ly, and by the help of our senses, that
 “ such as we conceive them to be, such
 “ they appear in the Work: and therefore
 “ we know demonstratively that such they
 “ are in the Worker [5].”

[5] Vol v. p. 524.

ALL

All this is mighty well: and on these very grounds I undertake to prove that men may get as clear and as precise ideas of God's GOODNESS and JUSTICE, as of his *wisdom* and *power*.

But, to prevent, or, indeed, now things are so far gone, rather to *redress*, all ambiguity in the terms, and equivocation in the use of them; it will be proper to explain what true PHILOSOPHY means by GOD'S WORKS, whether *physical* or *moral*.

Now I understand by it, that CONSTITUTION OF THINGS which God hath established and directed, tending to a plain and evident end: without regard to those impediments or obstructions in it's course, which the Author of nature hath permitted to arise from any part of the *material*, or *intellectual* Creation.

Thus, when we consider his *physical* works, in order to make our estimate of his *wisdom* and *power*, we conceive them as they are in themselves; and in the perfection of their Constitution; tho' the great portion of the *physical* system may, from the intractability of matter, be subject to some *inconsiderable irregularities*, which, as the true PHILOSOPHER observes

will

will be apt to increase till this system wants a reformation : and tho' the smaller portions, such as the bodies of animals, may, from various accidents in their conception and birth, often want that convenient formation and adaption of their parts, from the wonderful contrivance of which, in the various bodies of all animals in general, arises so illustrious an evidence of the *wisdom* and *power* of the Workman.

Surely, then, common sense, and all equitable measure, require us to estimate God's *moral works* on the same standard : to consider what the *moral constitution is in itself* : and (when the question is of God's *goodness* and *justice*) to keep that view distinct and separate : nor suffer it to be disturbed or broken by any interruptions occasioned thro' the perverse influence either of the passion or action of material or immaterial Beings. For, in this case, Both concur to violate the Constitution. In the *natural* system, man's *Free-will* has no place : in the *moral*, the abuse of *Free-will* occasions the most and greatest of it's disorders.

In prosecuting this question therefore, As, in order to acquire and confirm our ideas of God's *wisdom* and *power*, we con-

consider the *natural system* only as it's order and harmony is supported by the *general Laws* of matter and motion: so, in order to acquire and confirm our ideas of his *goodness* and *justice*, we should regard the *moral system* only as it's order and harmony is supported by that GENERAL LAW, which annexes *happiness to virtue, and misery to vice*.

Thus much, and only thus much, is *God's work*, in either system: and it is from *God's work* we are to demonstrate his *attributes*. The rest, where real or apparent disorders obtrude themselves, to obstruct our views in these discoveries, proceeds from *matter* and the *human mind*.

And it is not to be forgotten, that the conclusion we draw from hence, in support of our *adequate* ideas of God's *moral* attributes, has the greater strength upon his Lordship's own principles; who holds, that this Constitution arises *solely from the WILL* of God: For then we are sure that the WILL, which annexes happiness to virtue, and misery to vice, must arise from God's *moral* rather than from his first *physical* nature.

Having premised thus much, tho' no more than necessary to obviate one continued

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tinued SOPHISM, that runs thro' all his Lordship's reasonings, against the *moral attributes*: where, the course and operation of that *moral Constitution* as it appears under the disturbances occasioned by man's *free-will*, is perpetually put for the *Constitution itself*: I now proceed to shew, from GOD'S WORKS, that we have as precise ideas of his GOODNESS and JUSTICE as of his *power* and *wisdom*.

His Lordship observes, that *from every part of the immense universe, and from the harmony of the whole, men are led to conclude, with the utmost certainty, that a Being of infinite wisdom and power made, preserved, and governed the system*. And what should hinder the Religionist from observing, that the happiness attendant on virtue, and the misery consequent on vice by the very Constitution of nature, lead men to conclude, with equal certainty, that a Being of infinite *goodness* and *justice* made, preserves, and governs the system?

The existence of this *moral Constitution* his Lordship acknowledges. Let us consider it, therefore, both as it respects BODIES of men, and INDIVIDUALS.

That *Communities* are always happy or
miserable

miserable in proportion to their virtuous or vicious manners, his Lordship himself is the forwardest to demonstrate. If such a Constitution of things does not bespeak the Author of it *good* and *just*, how is it possible to conclude any thing of the character of a Creator from his Works? His Lordship thinks, that from the marks of *wisdom* and *power* in the *physical system* we learn with the utmost certainty that God is wise and powerful; and he says, that we acquire this knowledge immediately, as it were, by our senses. Are there not the self same marks of *goodness* and *justice* in this part at least of the *moral system*? And do not we come to know as immediately by our senses, and as certainly by our reason, that God is good and just?

If we consider the *moral Constitution*, as it respects *Particulars*, we see virtue and vice have the same influence on our happiness and misery. Here, indeed, we find more interruptions, in the means to the end, than in the other part. Our material and our intellectual Nature have here more power to disorder the operations of the System. In *Communities*, they can rarely be disturbed, but by a Pestilence, or that other moral Plague, a Hero or a Conqueror:
Amongst

Amongst *Particulars*, physical evil and the abuse of free-will bring more frequent disorders. But when once the demonstration of the *moral attributes* is clearly made from that part of the constitution which regards *Communities*, it can never be shaken by the disorders in the other part of it, which regards *Particulars*. The established truth is now a Principle to proceed upon in our discoveries; and as to the interruptions in the latter instance, all we can fairly deduce from thence is, the CERTAINTY of a *future State*. But this by the way.

What I insist upon at present is, that, to decide the question concerning God's attributes, we are to consider the Constitution of things, as it is in itself, simply; this is, properly, *God's work*. The disorders in it, occasioned by the abuse of man's *free-will*, is not his Work, but man's. This, his Lordship too, upon another occasion, namely, when he combats the argument of a *future state* from an unequal Providence, is perpetually repeating. So that these disorders must, even on his Lordship's own principles, be excluded from the account, when we estimate God's Nature and *Attributes* from his *Works*.

But

But we do not see those disorders in the *natural* world which we both see and feel in the *moral*. This would be some objection did God direct things *immediately*, or constitute them *mechanically*, in the moral, as he does in the natural System ; or had Free-will the same influence on the latter as on the former. — Did God direct in both Constitutions, or did he direct in neither, *immediately* or *mechanically*, and that yet the *moral* continued more subject to disorder than the *natural*, it might then indeed follow that we had not so clear ideas of God's *goodness* and *justice* as of his *wisdom* and *power*. But since he has thought fit to leave man, FREE ; and has been pleased to suffer the abuse of free-will to affect the *moral* system, and not the *natural* ; the superior irregularities in the *one* do not take off from the equal clearness of the demonstration which results from the nature of *both* Constitutions. “ This difference (to speak in the words of a late writer) is not to be ascribed to a contrary conduct in the Governor of the two Systems, but to the contrary natures of the Subjects. Passive matter being totally inert, it's resistance to the Laws im-

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“ pressed

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“ pressed upon it, must be extremely weak :
 “ and consequently the disorders arising
 “ from that resistance proportionably flow
 “ and unheeded : while that active self-
 “ moving principle, the Mind, flies out at
 “ once from the centre of its direction,
 “ and can every moment deflect from the
 “ line of truth and reason. Hence moral
 “ disorders began early, became excessive,
 “ and have continued, through all ages, to
 “ disturb the harmony of the System [6].”

What is here said will, I suppose, be sufficient to confute the following assertions ; and to detect the mistake on which they arise.

“ Every thing (says his Lordship) shews
 “ the *wisdom* and *power* of God conformably
 “ to our ideas of wisdom and power in the
 “ *physical* world and in the *moral*. But
 “ *every thing does not shew in like manner*
 “ *the justice and goodness conformably to our*
 “ *ideas of these attributes in either. The*
 “ *physical attributes are in their nature*
 “ *more glaring and less equivocal* [7].”

And again. “ There is no sufficient

[6] *The principles of natural and revealed Religion, in a course of Sermons at Lincoln's-Inn.* Vol. i. p. 66.

[7] Vol. v. p. 524.

“ founda-

“ *foundation* in the phænomena of nature
 “ to connect the moral attributes with the
 “ physical attributes of God. *Nay, the*
 “ *phænomena are in several cases repugnant*
 “ [8].”

But since he goes so far as to talk of the
want of a foundation, and even a *repugnancy*;
 Before I proceed with the main branch of
 my reasoning, I will just urge one single
 argument for the reality and full evidence of
 the *moral attributes*: and it shall be taken
 from himself, and shall conclude on his
 own principles.

He tells us, that such as he, “ who
 “ apply themselves to the *first Philosophy*,
 “ apply themselves to the noblest objects
 “ that can demand the attention of the
 “ mind — To the signification of God’s
 “ WILL, concerning the duties we owe to
 “ him, and to one another [9].”

And again, “ It is sufficient to establish
 “ our moral obligations that we consider
 “ them relatively to our own system.
 “ From thence they arise: and since they
 “ arise from thence, it must be the WILL of

[8] Vol. v. p. 316.

[9] Vol. v. p. 447.

“ that Being who made the system, that we
 “ should observe and practise them [10].”

Let me ask then, How it is that we collect this WILL from the objects which his Lordship allows us to contemplate, namely, his WORKS *in this system*? He will say from certain *qualities* in those objects. — What are those qualities? He will reply, the *fitnesses* of means to ends. — Who was the Author of these fitnesses? He hath told us, the *God of nature*. — It was God's *will* then we should use the *means* in order to obtain the *ends*. Now, in the *moral* system, the means are virtuous practice; the end, happiness. Virtue therefore must needs be pleasing to him; and Vice, as it's contrary, displeasing. Well, but then, as to this *like* and *dislike*; it must be either capricious, or it must be regulated on the nature of things. *Wisdom*, which his Lordship condescends to give his Maker, will not allow us to suppose it capricious. It is regulated therefore on the nature of things. But if the nature of things be, as his Lordship holds it is, the constitution of God, and *dependent on his will*, then he who is pleased with virtue,

and displeased with vice, must needs be himself *good* and *just*.

To proceed now with my main argument. His Lordship goes on thus. *But men not only might collect God's natural attributes from the physical system, but in effect they did: and all men, at all times, had these notions so strongly impressed on them, that they were led to conclude with the utmost certainty for a Being of infinite power and wisdom.*

I desire to know in what time or place it ever happened, before his Lordship philosophised at *Battersea*, that a Man, who believed God's infinite wisdom and power, did not with equal confidence believe his infinite goodness and justice? In truth, these two sets of ideas, the *physical* and *moral* attributes of the Deity, were equally extensive, they were equally steady, and they were always till now inseparable.

He says, that *as far as we can discover, we discern infinite wisdom and power in all God's works: and where we cannot discern them, it is manifestly due to our imperfection not to his.*

What his Lordship here says will deserve to be well considered. A comparison, we see, is insinuated between our discovery of

infinite power; and wisdom, from the *physical* works of God; and our discovery of infinite goodness and justice, from his *moral* works; in which the advantage is given to the former. Now, to come to any clear decision in this point (omitting at present the notice of his general Sophism which operates in this observation, as in the rest) we must distinguish between the *means of acquiring* the knowledge of God's attributes, and that *knowledge when acquired*. As to the first, the *means of acquiring*, there seems to be some advantage on the side of God's physical works. For, as his Lordship rightly observes, *where we cannot discern wisdom and power in the physical works it is due to our imperfection, not to his: for as men advance in the knowledge of nature we see more and more of wisdom and power*. And he insinuates, we cannot say the same concerning the difficulties in the *moral* system. It is true, we cannot. But then let us tell him, neither can we say the contrary. The reason is, The physical system lies open to our enquiries; and by the right application of our senses, to well tried experiments, we are able to make considerable advances in the knowledge of Nature.

ture. It is not so in the *moral* system; all we know here are a few general principles concerning its Constitution; and further than this, human wit or industry can never get. These general principles, indeed, are amply sufficient to deduce and establish the *moral attributes* from the *moral system*, but not sufficient to remove difficulties that arise from what we see of the actual administration of that system. So that, tho' we cannot say, that *as we advance in the knowledge of the moral system we see more and more of goodness and justice*: So neither can *his Lordship* say (tho' his words seem to insinuate he could) that as we advance, we see *less and less*. Whereas the truth is we cannot advance at all, beyond those few general principles.

But then, on the other hand, with regard to the *knowledge of the attributes, when acquired*, I hold the advantage, and a very great one it is, lies altogether on the side of the MORAL. And this, I cannot better explain to you than in the words of a late writer, quoted once before: "Tho' the
 " idea (says this Divine) of God's *natural* at-
 " tributes be as clear in the abstract, as that
 " of his *moral*, yet the idea of his moral

“ attributes is, in the concrete, more ade-
 “ quate than that of his natural. The reason
 “ seems convincing. The moral relation in
 “ which we stand to God, as free agents,
 “ is just the same whether man exists alone,
 “ or whether he be but a link in the chain
 “ of innumerable orders of intelligences
 “ surrounding the whole Creation. Hence
 “ we must needs have a full knowledge of
 “ our duty to him, and of his disposition
 “ towards us: on which knowledge is
 “ founded the exactness of our conceptions
 “ of his moral attributes, his *justice* and
 “ *goodness*. But the natural relation in
 “ which we, or any of God's creatures,
 “ stand towards him, as material Beings, is
 “ not the same when considered simply, as
 “ when a portion of a dependent and con-
 “ nected whole. Because whenever such a
 “ whole exists, the harmony and perfection
 “ of it must first of all be consulted. This
 “ harmony ariseth from the mutual subser-
 “ viency and union of it's parts. But this
 “ subserviency may require a ministration of
 “ government, with regard to certain porti-
 “ ons of matter thus allied, different from
 “ what might have followed had those por-
 “ tions stood alone, because that precise dis-
 “ position,

“ position, which might be fit in one case
“ might be unfit in the other. Hence we,
“ who know there is a whole, of which
“ our material system is a part; and yet are
“ totally ignorant both of it's nature and
“ extent, can have but a very confused idea
“ of that physical relation in which we
“ stand towards God: so that our con-
“ ceptions of his *natural* attributes, his
“ *power* and *wisdom*, which are founded on
“ that idea, must in the concrete be propor-
“ tionably vague and inadequate [11].”

But you will ask, perhaps, whence arises this reciprocal advantage which the *moral* and the *natural* attributes have over one another in the *means of acquiring* the knowledge of them, and the precision of *that knowledge when acquired*? I will tell you in two words. Of *our own* physical system, we know many particulars, (that is, we discover much of the *means*, but nothing of the *end*) and of the *universal* physical system we are entirely ignorant. On the other hand, we know but few particulars of *our own* moral system, (that is, we discover only the *end*,

[11] *The principles of natural and revealed Religion, in a course of Sermons at Lincoln's Inn, Vol. i. p. 58, & seq.*

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and not the *means*) and of the *universal* moral
system we know the general principles.

His Lordship proceeds. *This now [the knowledge of God's natural attributes] is real knowledge; or there is no such thing as knowledge. We acquire it immediately in the objects themselves, IN GOD, and in nature the work of God.*

What his Lordship means by, *in God*, distinct from the *work of God*, I confess I do not understand: Perhaps it may be intended to insinuate, in honour of the *natural attributes* that they may be even proved *a priori*; for this is not the first time by many, when after having heartily abused a person or thing, he has been reduced to avail himself of the authority, or the reasoning, they afford him. Or perhaps, it was only used to round the period, and set off his eloquence. However I agree with him, that this is *real knowledge*. And so too, I think, is the knowledge of the *moral attributes*, so gained. Why truly, says his Lordship, *I do allow just so much goodness and justice in God as we see in that CONSTITUTION which annexes happiness to virtue and misery to vice. But this, says he, I think, had better be called WISDOM. I think so too; if by,*
so

so much, he means no more than what concerns God's *natural government*. But I will venture to go further, and say, that, from what we see in this *constitution*, we may collect PERFECT goodness and justice. *Matter* and man's *Free-will* disturb the System. But if the Constitution be the effect of God's *Will*, as his Lordship holds; and the mark of his *Wisdom*, as all mankind hold; Does not that *Wisdom* require that his *Will* should not be defeated? Would it not be defeated, if the disorders occasioned by the perversity of his creatures were not remedied and set right? And is not A REMEDY the clearest mark of *perfect goodness* and *justice*?

Take it in another light. Free-will crosses the Constitution, which God, by establishing, shews he intended should take place. This *present* disturbance could not have been prevented, because, according to my Lord and his Poet, it was necessary to the schemes of divine wisdom, that there should be such a creature as man:

- “ For in the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain
 “ There must be, somewhere, such a rank as man.

the consequence is, that the disorder will be
hereafter rectified.

Had

Had God indeed made Man *unnecessarily*; and this Man had broke in upon God's System, his Lordship might then have had some pretence to say, as he does, that GOD MEANT THE SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE FURTHER PURSUED; that is, that the SYSTEM, which annexes happiness to virtue and misery to vice, should remain in it's present state of an unperfected dispensation, to all eternity.

He goes on. *We know what WISDOM and POWER are. We know both intuitively, and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the WORK; and therefore we know demonstratively that such they are in the WORKER.*

And do we not know what GOODNESS and JUSTICE are? Do we not *intuitively*, and by the *help of our senses know*, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the WORK, namely, in that *constitution of things*, which, his Lordship tells us, annexes happiness to virtue, and misery to vice? And may we not *demonstratively* collect from thence that such they are in the WORKER? since this Constitution, his Lordship again tells us, is the effect of God's *will*. On his own principles therefore, applied

plied to his own state of the reasoning *a posteriori*, it appears that God is of *infinite goodness* and *justice*, as well as of *wisdom* and *power*. And was I to imitate his Lordship's language, I should say of a man who denied all this,

— “ O Medici, mediam pertundite venam :
“ Delicias hominis !

But to give authority to this *prodigious* reasoning, He, in one place, puts it into the mouth of *Anaxagoras*. “ Should you ask
“ *Anaxagoras* (says he) what *goodness* is,
“ or *justice*? He might bid you, perhaps,
“ turn your eyes inward, first; then, sur-
“ vey mankind; observe the wants of in-
“ dividuals, the benefits of society, and,
“ from these particulars, frame the general
“ notions of *goodness* and *justice*. He
“ might go a step further; and add, this is
“ *human* goodness and *human* justice, such
“ as we can comprehend, such as we can
“ exercise; and such as the supreme mind
“ has made it both our duty and interest to
“ exercise, by the constitution of the hu-
“ man system, and by the relations which
“ arise in it: from all which our notions of
“ *goodness* and *justice* result, and are com-
“ pounded.”

We

We know then, what goodness and justice are, as well as what wisdom and power are; we know both intuitively and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the work — for he bids us to turn our eyes inward — then to survey mankind, and lastly, to observe how reason, from the constitution of human nature, confirms our intuitive knowledge, and that which we gain by the help of our senses. But what does all this signify, if Anaxagoras or his Lordship be in an humour of concluding against their own premisses? — Hear then how the speech ends. — “Of divine goodness and divine justice might this Philosopher conclude, I AM UNABLE TO FRAME ANY ADEQUATE NOTIONS [12].”

What? Unable to *frame* that which God by the *moral* constitution has *framed to our hands*; and by the declaration of his *WILL* has taught us to *apply*? In truth, his Lordship brings his old Sophists not, as one would expect, to chop Logic for *him*, but to play at *cross purposes* with *us*. — *We DO KNOW*, says Anaxagoras, *what Goodness and Justice are: we know both intuitively,*

[12] Vol. iv, p. 116, 17.

and by the help of our senses, that such as we conceive them to be, such they appear in the work; and THEREFORE we DO NOT KNOW that such they are in the worker.

Might I be permitted to address myself to this Renegado Sophist, I would say, — Your brethren, the antient Philosophers, reasoned *a posteriori* in this manner, “Can you think there is *wisdom* and *power* in you, and none in your Maker?” By no means. They reasoned well. — Let me ask you then, is there *goodness* and *justice* in you, and none in your Maker? His answer, I suppose, would be the same. But, prompted by his Lordship, into whose service he is now entered, he perhaps might add, that from *human goodness* and *justice* we cannot come to the NATURE of the *divine*. What hinders us, I beseech you? Is it not from our *intuitive conception* of our own *wisdom* and *power* that we gain an adequate idea of God’s? Are *wisdom* and *power* MORE PERFECT as they are found in man, than *goodness* and *justice*? If therefore the IMPERFECTION of the human qualities hinder our acquiring an adequate idea of God’s attributes, we can have no adequate idea of his *wisdom* and *power*: If the IMPERFECTION
does

does not hinder, then we may have an adequate idea of his *goodness* and *justice*.

But, the inference to God's *power* and *wisdom*, his Lordship says, is supported by what men see of the effects in his Works; the order and harmony of the physical System. Do we not see likewise the effects of God's *goodness* and *justice*, in the happiness that *naturally* attends virtue and the misery consequent on vice? And is not the *moral* order and harmony as much God's *Work*, as the *physical*?

Thus, Sir, you see, that by the *very reasoning* his Lordship EMPLOYS to prove the *natural* attributes, and by the *very method* he PRESCRIBES to us for proving the *moral*, we have demonstrated *these* with a precision and a certainty, at least, equal to the other.

His Lordship seems to have been aware of the event; and therefore when he had set us at defiance, he tried to put the change upon us, by pretending to remind us that the *moral attributes* should be examined by, or *applied to*, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD AND THE STATE OF MANKIND IN IT [13]. I had as much reason to be

[13] Vol. v. p. 331.

aware of his Lordship. And therefore, in stating the question, at my entrance on this subject, I obviated this miserable Sophism. I call it by no better name, because it is not *the constitution of the world or the state of mankind in it*, but the CONSTITUTION OF THE MORAL SYSTEM, or the state of virtue and vice, as they naturally operate to produce happiness and misery, by which God's *moral attributes* are to be tried and ascertained. But this, which is a steady and uniform view, he would have us turn away from; to contemplate that obscure, disturbed, and shifting scene, the actual state of vice and virtue, of misery and happiness, amongst men. That is, he would have us conclude concerning God's nature, not from his VOLUNTARY CONSTITUTION of things, but from the breaches into that constitution by the abuse of man's free-will: which yet, when he is arguing *for an equal providence*, he again and again confesses ought not to be charged upon God; and declaims violently against the folly of those who impute the effects of that abuse to him. While here, in his various attempts to blot out *the idea of God's moral attributes*, he is full

of the disorders of the moral System as part of God's design. But now I have mentioned his arguments for an equal providence, I should be unjust to You, who expect a fair *view* of his Lordship's Philosophy from me, if I concealed another of his contradictions. — He had both a *future State* and *God's moral attributes* to throw out of the religious world; or, to speak more properly, he had RELIGION to overturn by taking away it's very ESSENCE: and as the *irregularities* in the present administration of providence stood in the way of his first attempt; and the *consistency* of the moral System in the way of the other; when he argues against a *future State*, You would think there were no *irregularities*; and when he argues against the *moral attributes*, You would think there was no *consistency*.

We now come to his Lordship's particular objections against the *moral attributes*. One of them is, that they are BOUNDED.

“ They [the Divines] go further. As
 “ God is perfect and man very imperfect,
 “ they talk of his *infinite goodness and jus-*
 “ *tice*, as of his infinite wisdom and pow-

“er; tho’ the latter may preserve their
 “nature without any conceivable bounds,
 “and the former must cease to be what
 “they are, unless we conceive them
 “BOUNDED. Their nature implies neces-
 “sarily a limitation in the exercise of them.
 “Thus then the *moral attributes*, accord-
 “ing to this Theology, requires infinitely
 “more of God to man than men are able,
 “or would be obliged if they were able,
 “to exercise to one another: greater pro-
 “fusion in bestowing benefits and re-
 “wards, greater vigour in punishing of-
 “fences [14].”

You have here his Lordship’s own words; and nothing less could induce any one to believe such misrepresentations could come from one, who had set himself up for an universal Righter of wrongs and Redresser of grievances. Permit me to examine the *premisses*; together with the *inferences* both *implied* and *expressed*.

He says, 1. that the *moral attributes* are *bounded*; 2. that the *natural* are *not bounded*. Let us see to what the first proposition amounts; and then, what truth there is in the second.

The *moral attributes* are considered by us as relative to *intelligent* creatures; the *natural* are not so considered. Thus the goodness and justice, when relative to man, are greatly *bounded*: a certain low degree of reward suffices for his *good*; a certain low degree of punishment for his *evil* actions. Let God's goodness and justice respect a higher rank of intelligent Beings, and they will be then *less bounded*; for greater rewards and punishments will be required: and so on, to the highest rank of intelligent creatures. Yet as the highest is at infinite distance from the Creator, the exercise of the moral attributes, (that is, as they bear relation to his intelligent creatures,) must be still *bounded*.

His second proposition is, that the natural attributes are *not bounded*. It is true, these cannot be considered as relative to God's *intelligent* creatures; yet since they must be considered, in *their exercise*, as relative to his Creation at large; and since Creation, however immense, is not infinite, the natural attributes so considered are not infinite: but if not infinite, they are *bounded*. There is no difference therefore, in *the exercise* of God's attributes, between

tween the *moral* and the *natural*, save only in the degree.

But if we consider God's *moral* and *natural* attributes more abstractedly, not as they are *in the exercise*, and relative to intelligent Beings, and to actual Creation, but as they are in his nature, then they are both *unbounded*. Thus we see his Lordship's notable distinction is groundless and imaginary.

But let us give him all he asks, and then see what he will be able to *infer* from it. His first inference seems to be this, As the *moral* attributes are bounded, and not infinite like the *natural*, our idea of them must be cloudy, obscure, inadequate. What! because they are better adapted to human contemplation? As things *bounded* certainly are, than things *infinite*. Our idea of such of God's attributes as bear relation to a Being, whose nature and properties we know, namely MAN, must needs be more adequate and better defined than the idea of such attributes as bear relation to Beings, whose nature and properties we know not, namely the UNIVERSE.

Let us consider his other *inference*, which he expresses in these words: *Thus then the moral attributes, according to this Theology, requires infinitely more of God to man than men are able, or would be obliged if they were able, to exercise to one another.*

To say the moral attributes, according to Christian Theology, or, as he is pleased to call it, *artificial Theology*, requires INFINITELY more, is a wretched calumny. To say it *requires more* is true. And for this plain reason: the relation between Creator and Creature is very distant from that between Fellow-creatures; therefore the *goodness* more abundant: The relation between Lord and Servant is very distant from that between Fellow-servants; therefore the *justice* more severe. And if it would not be deemed too IMPUDENT to refer his Lordship to Scripture for instruction (especially in a matter where the abuse of Scripture was chiefly intended) he might there have found a *Parable* which would have set him right: and has always kept *artificial Theology*, whatever he might think, from going wrong.

But

But *infinite*, when applied to the *exercise* of a moral attribute in reference to man, is his Lordship's nonsense, with due reverence be it said, not the *nonsense of artificial Divines*. They were not ignorant that the rule, *infirmiorem vel deteriorem partem sequitur consequentia*, held as well in *Morals* as in *Logic*. Tho' God be infinite, man is finite; and therefore, with respect to him, the exertion of a *moral* attribute is finite, not infinite. His Lordship himself saw something of this, as appears by his own words. *The nature of the moral attributes implies necessarily a limitation in the use of them*. And why would he not suppose Divines might see as far into this matter as himself?

But if there be an error in *artificial Theology* he is as sure to espouse it at one time or other, as he is, at all times, to calumniate the Divine who holds it. Men in their ill advised zeal to defend the Gospel-doctrine of the Son's divinity, were not always sufficiently careful in selecting their arguments. Amongst such as had, perhaps, been better let alone, they employed this, That as man's offence was against an infinite Being, it required an infinite satis-

faction ; which none but such a Being could give. Now it is on this very principle, we see, his Lordship goes about to discredit God's moral attributes, and the *artificial Theology* of Jesus Christ.

As the being *bounded* is one of his Lordship's objections against the *moral attributes*, so another is, that some of them are merely HUMAN.

“ After Dr. CLARKE (says he) has repeated over and over that all the *moral attributes* are the same in God as in our ideas ; and that he who denies them to be so may as well deny the divine *physical attributes*, the Doctor insists only on two of the former, on those of *justice* and *goodness*. He was much in the right to contract the generality of his assertion. The absurdity of ascribing TEMPERANCE, for instance, or FORTITUDE, to God, would have been too gross, and too visible even to eyes that prejudice had blinded the most. But that, of ascribing *justice* and *goodness*, to him, according to our notions of them, might be better covered, and was enough for his purpose, tho' NOT LESS REALLY ABSURD [15].”

Had not his Lordship accustomed us by his reasoning, as well as admonished us by his motto [16], *to wonder at nothing*, this paragraph were enough to set his readers in *admiration*: doubtful indeed of their object, whether of his KNOWLEDGE or his INGENUITY.

When men contemplate what they call moral virtue, or the attributes of humanity, they divide them into two classes perfectly distinct from one another. In the first are comprized those which belong to man under the idea of a free intelligent Being, such as *goodness* and *justice*: in the second, those which belong to him under the idea of a creature of that very imperfect species, such as *temperance* and *fortitude*. The first belong to all free intelligent Beings; the latter, only to such a Being as man: *Those* arise out of the nature of free intelligence, and so are common to all. *These*, from the imperfections of a very inferior creature, and so are peculiar to humanity; for we easily conceive higher Orders of free intelligences, amongst whom the moral virtues of the second class have no place. They are superior to the impressions

[16] *Nil admirari.*

of

of fear, and so have no need to exert *fortitude*: They are removed from the temptation of excess, and so have no room for the exercise of *temperance*.

Now when CLARKE, or any other Divine, had said, that *the moral attributes are the same in God as in our ideas*, What attributes could they possibly mean but those of the *first class*; those which belong to Beings under the idea of free intelligences? STUPID as his Lordship is pleased to make Divines, they could never *blunder* to that degree as to conceive, that those virtues or *moral attributes*, which proceed from the *imperfection* of the Creature, might belong in any manner to the Creator, whom they supposed to be *all perfect*.

They held, with his Lordship, and they will hold without him, that the great God is *infinitely* wise and powerful: Were they then in any danger to give him *temperance*, which implied his being obnoxious to *folly*; or *fortitude*, which argued *impuisance*?

Infinite wisdom, therefore, and infinite power exclude from God the very ideas of *temperance* and *fortitude*. But do infinite wisdom and infinite power exclude from
God

God the ideas of *goodness* and *justice*? On the contrary, his Lordship, as we shall see presently, is reduced to the poor shift of owning *goodness* and *justice* to be contained in infinite *wisdom* and *power*. At present I would ask another question. What must his Lordship's admirers think of their Master's IPSE DIXIT, when it comes to this, *That the inscribing goodness and justice to God is NO LESS REALLY ABSURD than the ascribing temperance and fortitude to him?*

And now I might leave it to them to determine, whether this was *contracting the generality of the assertion to serve a purpose; the absurdity of ascribing temperance and fortitude to God being too gross and too visible to the most prejudiced*. For to what *purpose* could this *contraction*, as he calls it, *serve*, but to the purpose of COMMON SENSE? Had his Lordship but been pleased to *contract* himself on the same principle, his bulky Volumes had shrunk into a Pamphlet.

But then, if you ask *what purpose* his Lordship had *to serve* when he used the equivocal word ALL, which may signify either *all* of one kind, or *all* of every kind, where

where he says, Clarke holds, *that ALL the moral attributes are the same in God, &c.* should you ask this, the answer is obvious. It was to give himself an occasion to say that Clarke afterwards *contracts his generality*, or, in other words, that he contradicts himself.

But let us consider this *contracted generality* a little closer. Dr. CLARKE asserts, *that goodness and justice are the same in God as in our ideas*: This, if we believe his Lordship, is downright NONSENSE and BLASPHEMY. Lord BOLINGBROKE asserts, *that wisdom and power are the same in God as in our ideas*: And this is SENSE and PIETY. How came his Lordship by this knowledge concerning God's wisdom and power? He tells us, he got it *intuitively and by the help of his senses* [17]. And do we not come to the knowledge of God's goodness and justice, in the very same way? Or is there any other way of acquiring it? How happens it then, that, of these two assertions, supported on the self same principles of knowledge, the one is *nonsense and blasphemy*, and the other *sense and piety*? For a reason worthy the *first philosophy*; What-

[17] Vol. iv. p. 116.

ever his Lordship holds in contradiction to Divines, is *sense* and *piety*; and whatever Divines hold in contradiction to his Lordship, is *nonsense* and *blasphemy*.

A third objection against the *moral attributes* is, "That PASSIONS and AFFECTIONS mix with our goodness and justice; which therefore cannot be supposed to be *the same in kind* with God's; tho' our wisdom and, power with which no passions or affections mix, must be *the same in kind*" with his.

Were passion and affection inseparable from human goodness and justice, the objection might appear to have some tho' not much force, even then. But they are easily separable: I do not mean in speculation only, but in practice. The true idea of human goodness and justice excludes all passion and affection. What hinders then our rising, from that idea, to divine goodness and justice, any more than our rising, from the idea of human wisdom and power to the divine wisdom and power; and from perceiving that as well the *moral*, as the *natural* attributes, are the same in kind, both in God and man?

But,

But, this is not all that may be said in favour of our adequate idea of God's *moral attributes*. For tho' passion mixes not with our *natural* attributes of wisdom and power, yet something else does, much more difficult to be separated, than passion, from our *moral* attributes, I mean the INSTRUMENTALITY OF MATTER. We can conceive nothing of human POWER without the use of such an instrument: yet this, by his Lordship's own confession, does not hinder us from rising from the idea of our own wisdom and power, to the wisdom and power of God; and from seeing that they are the same in kind.

But still, further. The MANNER of *knowing* in God, on which depends his natural attribute of WISDOM, is confessedly different from what it is in man; and at the same time utterly unknown to us: yet this does not, according to his Lordship's account, hinder our attaining to an adequate idea of *divine wisdom*, tho' it rises from what we see of the *human*.

How happens it then, that, in both these cases, notwithstanding the foreign mixture of the *instrumentality of matter*,
and

and the *manner of knowing*, we attain an adequate idea of God's wisdom and power? His Lordship will tell you, it is by separating that mixture from our ideas of wisdom and power. And shall I not have as much credit with you, when I tell you we acquire an adequate idea of God's goodness and justice, by separating from the idea of human goodness and justice the foreign mixture of *passion* and *affection*? You must admit both our assertions; or you must reject both. And when I say You, I mean every fair and ingenuous man like You; who having nothing to fear, and a great deal to hope from Religion, are, I think, the ablest judges of it's truth. For HOPE encourages men to *search* into the grounds of what Religion promises; but FEAR always deters them from giving much *attention* to what it threatens.

But his Lordship has a greater quarrel than all this, with the *moral attributes*. They are productive, he says, of much *mischiefs*, by bringing in embarrassed questions into Religion.

“ As they [the Divines] modeled God's
“ government on a human plan, so they
“ conceived his perfections, *moral* as well
“ *physical*

“ physical, by human ideas — Thus God
 “ was said to be the FIRST GOOD: but
 “ then the general notion or abstract idea
 “ of this *good* was not only taken from
 “ human goodness, but was considered too
 “ with little or no other relation than to
 “ man — A question arose therefore on
 “ these hypotheses, *How could evil come into*
 “ *a system of which God was the Author?* —
 “ this question made a further hypothesis
 “ necessary; another first God, another
 “ coeternal and coequal principle was in-
 “ troduced to solve it; *a first cause of all*
 “ *evil*, as the other was *of all good* [18].”

The false representation of this fact I
 reserve for another occasion: the false infer-
 ence from it is what I now propose to ex-
 amine.

His Lordship supposes, that the princi-
 ple of God's *moral attributes* gave birth to
 an insolvable question concerning *the origin*
of evil: And that this occasioned the in-
 vention of the mischievous hypothesis of
 the *two principles*. Who would have sus-
 pected that so much evil could have come
 from the FIRST GOOD! Yet so it was.

[18] Vol. iv. p. 88.

And

And therefore the idea of such a GOOD must be *false*, or, at least, very *hurtful*.

I. As to the first, if his Lordship's inference be right, it will help to deprive us of all useful knowledge; because there is no great principle, either in *physics*, or in *natural Theology*, which, if we be not on our guard and wise enough to stop at the extent of our ideas, will not lead us into inextricable difficulties.

Take an instance in one that arises out of both these sciences, — *The agreement between free-will and prescience*. I the rather chuse this instance, as his Lordship has pretended to untie a knot, which hath so long kept the learned World intangled; and as one of the principal designs of this VIEW is to illustrate his Lordship's great talents. “Our ideas (says he) of divine intelligence and wisdom may be neither *fantastical* nor *false*, and yet God's MANNER of knowing may be so different from ours, that fore-knowledge, as we call it *improperly in him*, may be consistent with the contingency of events; altho' that which we call *properly fore-knowledge in ourselves*, be not so [19].”

[19] Vol. v. p. 525.

L

I have

I have two or three remarks to make on these words. The first is, that, by the very turn of the phrase — *may be neither — and yet —* he appears conscious of his own prevarication. Our ideas of God's *goodness* and *justice* he makes *fantastical* and *false*, on account of difficulties arising from them: yet God's *natural* attributes, his *intelligence* and *wisdom*, *may*, he says, *be neither fantastical nor false*, tho' a difficulty as great arises from them; namely, the apparent discordancy between free-will and prescience.

My second remark is, that his solution of this difficulty is more *fantastic* than the wildest chimera of School-metaphysics. Common-sense informs us, that the difficulty, in reconciling God's *prescience* to *man's free-will*, does not arise from our ignorance in God's MANNER OF KNOWING, but from his ACTUAL KNOWLEDGE.

My third remark is, that his Lordship, who is here so penetrating, that he can easily reconcile *prescience* and *free-will*; is, in another place, so cloudy, that he cannot see how an *equal providence* and *free agency* may stand together.

My

My last remark is, and it rises out of the foregoing, that where Religion is not concerned, his Lordship sees no difficulties in any part of the system of Creation: but as soon as ever Religion appears, then difficulties start up by dozens.

Take now another instance from the case in hand. Our ideas of God's *moral attributes*, he says, must needs be false, because the conceiving of them by human goodness and justice leads to the question of the *origin of evil*, considered *morally*. Well. And does not the conceiving of God's *physical attributes* by human wisdom and power lead to the question of the *origin of evil* considered *naturally*? Yet our ideas of the physical attributes are neither *false nor fantastical*. But to this, his Lordship replies, Evil, considered *naturally*, is not real, but apparent only. Why so? Because it contributes to the greater good of the whole. May not the same thing be said of Evil, considered *morally*? Nay, hath it not been actually said, and proved too, on the same principles? It follows then, that they are either both *real*, or both *fantastic*.

But presumptuous man knows not when to stop. He would penetrate even to the Arcana of the Godhead.

“ For Fools rush in where Angels fear to tread.

And this impious humour gave birth to the absurd hypothesis of TWO PRINCIPLES. But is the folly to be charged upon our idea of the *moral attributes*? Ridiculous! We see it's cause is in vanity and self-conceit: passions that operate alike on all principles.

2. As to his Lordship's second inference, that *this* idea is at least productive of much *mischief*; so that it would be better to have none at all; Let me observe, that the very idea of God's existence is alike productive of mischief, even all the mischiefs of superstition. Is it therefore better to be without a God? Who, besides his Lordship, would say so [20]. Why then should we think it better to be without the idea of the *moral attributes*, even tho' the evils it produced were *necessary*? But

[20] He indeed says *he had rather be an Atheist than acknowledge the Christian Theology*; and we may believe him. See Vol. iv. p. 34.

that

that is not the case. They are *casual* only: the issue of pride and presumption; which this idea does not at all influence.

However, these *moral attributes*, if not hurtful, are USELESS; and this is his next cavil. “Infinite *wisdom* and *power* (says his Lordship) “have made things as they “are: how *goodness* and *justice* required “they should be made is neither *coram* “*judice*, nor to any rational purpose to inquire [1].” To inquire how the *universe of things should be made*, serves indeed *no reasonable purpose*. But to inquire concerning our own state and condition, is either *coram judice*, or we were sent into the world to stare about us, and to judge of nothing. His Lordship’s sophistry seems to confound two things that common sense has always distinguished; *our own business from other men’s*. When the King holds a bed of justice, ’tis not for every Particular to inquire into all his measures: But every Particular who is summoned to attend the Court, is much concerned to know how he himself shall be dealt with. His Lordship indeed, is ready to say, We are not summoned;

[1] Vol. v. p. 363.

that is, we are not *accountable creatures*. But this is begging the question.

At length, he ends just where he set out, That we have NO IDEAS of the moral attributes. " Upon the whole matter we may
 " conclude safely from error, and in direct
 " opposition to CLARKE, that *goodness and*
 " *justice in God cannot be conceived, without*
 " *manifest presumption and impiety, to be the*
 " *same as in the ideas we frame of these*
 " *perfections when we consider them in men,*
 " *or when we reason about them abstractedly*
 " *in themselves; but that in the supreme*
 " Governor of the World they are some-
 " thing TRANSCENDENT, and of which we
 " cannot make any true judgment, nor ar-
 " gue with any certainty about them [2]."
 And in this his Lordship tells us he is justified by the authority of St. PAUL and Dr. BARROW. *These two great Divines* (says he) *are on my side* [3]. Who would have thought of two such honourable Supporters for his Lordship's Atchievements? One thing I have observed, which might occasion some speculation; A strange propensity in Free-thinkers to mistake their enemies for their friends; and, which is more to be

[2] Vol. v. p. 359.

[3] Vol. v. p. 362.

lamented, as strange a propensity in the Clergy to mistake their friends for their enemies. The turn is odd enough on both sides: and, at first view, appears a little mysterious; when, perhaps, there may be no more in it than this, — Free-thinkers have employed this trick to enflame the Clergy's jealousy: and the Clergy have unhappily fallen into the snare.

But after what has passed, who would expect that *the leather-dressing Pontiff*, of all men, should have been thought worthy to support the *first Philosophy*! What has St. PAUL done at last, to deserve so much honour? Why, in answer to the objections against God's dispensations in the religious World, the Apostle refers us “for entire
“ satisfaction to the incomprehensible wisdom of God, who frequently, in the
“ course of his providence, ordereth things
“ in methods transcending our abilities to
“ discover or trace [4].”

This solution, which is here extolled for its great *modesty*, is quoted in another place for its greater IMPUDENCE [5]. It may be one or the other, just as his Lordship is in humour; who, notwithstanding

[4] Vol. v. p. 360.

[5] Vol. iii. p. 307.

his long study of LOCKE, seems totally to have lost all ideas of MORAL MODES. How otherwise was it possible, after having treated all Mankind in the manner you have seen in my *first* Letter, and will further see in my *third*, he should gravely tell his Friend, "That few men, he believes, have CONSULTED others both *living* and the *dead*, with LESS PRESUMPTION, and in a GREATER SPIRIT OF DOCILITY, than he has done [6]." I sometimes thought a word wrong printed; and that for, *consulted* we should read, *insulted*; for in a great man, there is no *presumption*, whatever meanness there may be, in *insulting* his inferiors. And as for his *docility* in doing it, that will hardly be disputed; there being no Author, whom he has *insulted* most, but from whom he has condescended to steal more: of which, (for want of a better at hand) I might give an instance in the person and writings of the Author of the *Divine Legation*.

But St. PAUL says, *we must have recourse to the incomprehensible wisdom of God*. In good time. But how does this prove that,

[6] *Introductory Letter to Mr. Pope*, Vol iii. p. 320.

in Paul's opinion, we have no adequate idea of the *moral attributes*? Unless the *quality* of an Agent, and his *action*, be one and the same thing. You, Sir, have an *adequate* conception, I am sure, of our gracious Monarch's *goodness* and *justice*; but you have a very imperfect comprehension of several of his State-measures. I have frequently attempted to illustrate my reasoning on divine matters from examples in human Rulers. This is a ticklish point. And therefore I have been very careful that those *regal* acts by which I would illustrate the *divine*, be not such as proceed from the weakness and imperfections of humanity. If they be, the instance is impertinent, and wide of the purpose. This was the more carefully to be observed, because writers have carried these illustrations into much abuse. And no body more than this Noble Lord; of whom it may be truly affirmed that, with all his negligence in writing, he has not omitted any one species of false reasoning.

To proceed. Dr. BARROW, I presume, will stand his Lordship in no better stead than St. *Paul*. "As the dealings of every
" wise man (says the Doctor) are some-
" times

“ times founded upon maxims, and admit
 “ justifications not obvious or penetrable by
 “ vulgar conceit, so may God act accord-
 “ ing to rules of wisdom and justice, which
 “ it may be quite impossible by our facul-
 “ ties to apprehend, or with our means to
 “ descry. As there are natural modes of
 “ Being and operation, so there may be pru-
 “ dential and moral modes of proceeding,
 “ far above our reach, peculiar objects of
 “ divine wisdom not to be understood by
 “ any creature, especially by creatures who
 “ stand in the lowest form of intelligence;
 “ one remove from beasts. In fine, those
 “ rules of equity and experience which we
 “ in our transactions with one another do
 “ use, if they be applied to the dealings of
 “ God will be found very incongruous or
 “ deficient, the case being vastly altered
 “ from that infinite distance in nature and
 “ state between God and us, and from
 “ the immense difference which his rela-
 “ tions towards us have from our relations
 “ to one another [7].”

What now has all this, which relates
 only to the *incomprehensible nature of God's*
providence, to do with our *inadequate ideas*

[7] Vol. v. p. 361, 2.

of his moral attributes? At least, if his Lordship will contend, that the man who thinks God's providence *incomprehensible*, must needs think our ideas of his moral attributes *inadequate*; he must go a step further; and confess, that *Barrow* supposed our ideas of the *natural* attributes to be *inadequate* likewise; for he puts both on the same footing. *As there are NATURAL modes of Being and operation*, (says the Doctor) *so there may be prudential and MORAL modes of proceeding far above our reach*. But as this would be going too far, farther than the *first Philosophy* will allow of, I suppose he would be content to admit this quotation from *Barrow* to be nothing to the purpose.

At last, and when you would least expect it, Common-sense and Common-sentiments return. And God's *moral attributes*, after much ado, are allowed to be in Nature. "Where Religions (says his Lordship) which pretend to be revealed, prevail, a new character of God's *goodness* arises — an *artificial* goodness which stands often in the place of the NATURAL [8]." And this, after having so often told us that we have no adequate

[8] Vol. v. p. 431.

ea of God's goodness by *nature*. It comes scantily indeed ; and, in every sense, *a posteriori* : However, it comes, and deserves to be welcomed. " All the knowledge (says he) that God has given us the means to acquire, and therefore all he designed we should have of his physical and MORAL nature and attributes, is derived from *his works*, and from the TENOUR OF THAT PROVIDENCE by which he governs them [9]."

You will observe the words — *the tenour of that providence* — I have detected the sophistry of them in my previous observation, at the entrance on the argument, where I have stated the meaning of the terms, *God's works*. I bid you observe them now, to judge of the following *climax*, if I may so call it, or *walk down stairs*. " The *wisdom* is not so often discernible by us [in God's works] as the power of God, nor the *goodness* as the wisdom [10]."

As cautious as his Lordship is here, in the slender allowance of God's *moral attributes* from his *works*, yet even this is a flat contradiction to what his System has oblig-

[9] Vol. v. p. 523, 4.

[10] Vol. v. p. 335.

ed him over and over to affirm; as particularly in the following words --- *Of divine goodness and divine justice* (says his Lordship in the person of Anaxagoras) *I am unable to frame any adequate notions* [11], *from God's works.*

But, he is more free of his concessions in another place.

“ By natural Theology (says his Lordship) we are taught to acknowledge and adore the infinite *wisdom* and *power* of God, which he has manifested to us in some degree or other in every part, even the most minute, of his Creation. By that too, we are taught to ascribe goodness and justice to him, wherever he intended we should so ascribe them, that is, wherever either his works, or the dispensations of his providence do as NECESSARILY communicate these notions to our minds, as those of wisdom and power are communicated to us, in the whole extent of both [12].”

What his Lordship would infer from hence is this, that we are no where taught

[11] Vol. iv. p. 116, 17.

[12] Vol. v. p. 527.

to ascribe *goodness* and *justice* to God ; since the dispensations of his providence do nowhere, in his Lordship's opinion, NECESSARILY *communicate these notions*. But allow his premises ; would his conclusion follow ? Suppose the dispensations of God's providence did only PROBABLY communicate these notions to our minds ; will not this teach us to ascribe *goodness* and *justice* to him ? God hath so framed the constitution of things, that man should, throughout his whole conduct in life, be induced to form his judgment on appearances and probable arguments. Why not in this, then, as well as in the rest ? or rather, why not in this, above the rest ? If so be that indeed God had not (as I have shewn he hath) *necessarily* communicated these notions. But what is this to our *adequate* idea of the moral attributes, the point in question ? God's not *necessarily communicating* the idea affects only the *reality*, not the *precision* of it. All therefore we learn by this observation, is, that his Lordship, by thus putting the change upon us, has a very strong inclination, that God should have neither *goodness* nor *justice* ; so far

far as they carry with them any DISPOSITION to *reward* or *punish*. For as to the Attributes *themselves*, divested of their consequences; and undisturbed by our *impious imitation* [13], he has little or no quarrel with them. His Lordship certainly never intended to *teach* the common Reader more of the secrets of his *Philosophy* than what NECESSARILY arises from his positions. But to make God treat Mankind so, with regard to his *attributes*, is drawing an image of the Deity from his own likeness; the very fault he so censures in Divines. But if God must needs be represented either after Them, or after his Lordship; I should chuse to have the Clergy's God, tho' made out of no better stuff than ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGY, because that gives him *goodness* and *justice*; rather than his Lordship's God, which has neither; altho' composed of the more refined materials of the FIRST PHILOSOPHY. In the mean time, I will not deny but He may be right in what he says, That men conceive of the Deity, *more humano*; and that his Lordship's God

[13] *Our obligation to imitate God is a false and profane Doctrine.* Vol. v. p. 65.

and the Clergy's God, are equally faithful copies of themselves.

In a word, if God *teaches*, whether it be done clearly or obscurely, he certainly *intended* we should learn. And what we get even by appearances, is *real* knowledge, upon his Lordship's own principles. For if truth be, as he assures us it is, of so precarious a nature as to take it's Being from our own system, it must be *real* as far as it *appears*. "Our knowledge (says this great Philosopher) is so dependent on our own system, that a great part of it would not be *knowledge* perhaps, but *error* in any other [14]."

It is thus he involves himself in perpetual contradictions : But it is always thus, when men *dispute* (for *believe* they cannot [15],) against *common notices*, and the most obvious truths ; such as *liberty of will* ; the *certainty of knowledge* ; and this, which, I reckon, obtrudes itself upon us as forcibly

[14] Vol. iii. p. 356.

[15] Hear what he himself says of FREE-WILL. *The free-will of man no one can deny he has, without LYING, or renouncing his intuitive knowledge.* Vol. v. p. 406.

as either, the MORAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY.

But the game is now on foot. Let us follow closely. We have unravelled him through all his turnings; and we may soon expect to see him take shelter in the thick cover of God's incomprehensible Nature; and rather than allow, in good earnest, the *moral attributes* of the Deity, ready to resolve all his Attributes, both *natural* and *moral*, into one INDEFINITE PERFECTION.

But soft. Not yet. We must come to it by degrees, and regular advances. First the *moral attributes* are to be *resolved* into the *natural*.

— “ If they [the *natural* and *moral* attributes] “ may be considered separately, as “ we are apt to consider them ; and if the “ LATTER and every thing we ascribe to “ these, are not to be RESOLVED *rather into* “ the former ; into his infinite intelligence, “ wisdom, and power [16].” It is yet, we see, but a question; and that only, whether the *moral* attributes are not to be resolved into the *natural*. In the next passage it is determined. “ I think (and

[16] Vol. v. p. 523, 4.

what he thinks, he holds it reasonable all the world should think too) “ that the *moral* attributes of the supreme Being are “ *absorbed in his wisdom*; that we should “ consider them only as different modifications of this *physical* attribute [17].”

We are not yet near the top. However, before we go higher, let us set together his inconsistencies as they appear in this situation. Sometimes *the ideas of divine wisdom are better determined than those of divine goodness* [18]. Sometimes *we have no ideas at all of divine goodness* [19]. And sometimes again, as in the place before us, the *divine goodness is the same as wisdom*, and therefore, doubtless, the idea of it as well determined. Now, of all these assertions, which will his Lordship stick by? Which, do you ask? By none of them longer than they will stick by him; and straggling, undisciplined Principles, picked up at adventures, are not apt to stick long by any side. As soon as they begin to incline towards the enemy, he has done with them.— Come, if you will have the secret, take it. The attributes are mere NAMES,

[17] Vol. v. p. 335. [18] Vol. v. p. 341, 526.

[19] Vol. iv. p. 116, 17.

and there is an end of them. All that really remains is one undefined ETERNAL REASON: And so the Farce concludes.

“ The moral ATTRIBUTES (says he)
 “ are *barely* NAMES that we give to various
 “ manifestations of the infinite wisdom of
 “ one *simple uncompounded being* [20].”

“ Of divine goodness and divine justice
 “ I am unable to frame any adequate no-
 “ tions; and instead of conceiving such
 “ distinct moral attributes in the supreme
 “ Being, *we ought, perhaps, to conceive no-*
 “ *thing more than this,* that THERE ARE
 “ VARIOUS APPLICATIONS OF ONE ETER-
 “ NAL REASON, WHICH IT BECOMES US
 “ LITTLE TO ANALYZE INTO ATTRI-
 “ BUTES [1].”

To this miserable refuge is his Lordship reduced, to avoid DIVINE JUSTICE. But why, you say, did he not speak out at first, and end his quarrel with the *moral attributes* at once? Your humble servant, for that. Barefaced NATURALISM has not such charms as to make her received wherever, and whenever, she comes. There is need of much preparation, and more disguise, before you can get her ad-

[20] Vol. v. p. 453.

[1] Vol. iv. p. 117.

mitted even to what is called *good company*. But now, he has resolved to speak out, Why, you ask, does it yet seem to stick in the passage? And when his premisses are general against *all* attributes, his conclusion is particular against the *moral*? Not without cause, I assure you. He had need of the *natural* attributes, to set up against the *moral*: and therefore had himself actually *analyzed* this *eternal reason* into the specific attributes of *wisdom* and *power*. But when he saw his adversaries might, by the same way, analyze it into *goodness* and *justice*, He then thought fit to pick a quarrel with his own method: but it was to be done obliquely. And hence arises his embarrass and tergiversation. He would willingly, if his Reader be so pleased, analyze the *eternal reason* into *wisdom* and *power*: but there he would stop: and leave the other side of the *eternal reason*, unanalyzed: and if *goodness* and *justice* should chance to start out, he has a trick to *resolve* and *absorb* them into *wisdom* and *power*, as only *different modifications of the physical attributes*. But if this revolts his Readers, and they expect equal measure; then, rather than give them back
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the *goodness* and *justice* he has been at all this pains to *ascribe*, he will throw *wisdom* and *power* after them, and *resolve* all into the ONE ETERNAL REASON.

Bashful NATURALISM has now thrown aside her last and thinnest vail: and is ready, we see, to face down her Rival; whom till now she was content to counterfeit. Give me leave, therefore, to repress this last effort of her insolence by another passage from the *Sermons* quoted once or twice already.

— “ We have been told, and with airs of
 “ superior knowledge, that these pretend-
 “ ed attributes, as they are commonly
 “ specified, and distinguished into *natural*
 “ and *moral*, are a mere human fiction;
 “ invented, by aid of analogy from the
 “ actions, passions, and qualities observable
 “ in man: and that the simple nature of
 “ Deity is one uniform perfection; of
 “ which, Infinity being the base, we can
 “ have no distinct idea or conception.

“ To this it will be sufficient to reply,
 “ that it is indeed true, that these specific
 “ attributes, from which we deduce all
 “ our knowledge of the nature and will of
 “ God, are formed on analogy, and bear
 M 3 “ relation

" relation to ourselves. But then we say
 " such attributes are not, on that account,
 " the less real or essential. The light of
 " the SUN is not, in the orb itself, what
 " we see it in the RAINBOW. There
 " it is one candid, uniform, perfect blaze
 " of glory: here, we separate it's Perfec-
 " tion in the various attributes of red, yel-
 " low, blue, purple and what else the subtle
 " optician so nicely distinguishes. But still
 " the *solar* light is not less real in the Rain-
 " bow, where it's rays become thus un-
 " twisted, and each differing thread dis-
 " tinctly seen in its effect, than while they
 " remained united and incorporated with
 " one another in the Sun. Just so it is
 " with the divine Nature: it is one simple
 " undivided Perfection in the Godhead
 " himself: but when refracted and divari-
 " cated, in passing through the medium of
 " the human mind, it becomes power,
 " justice, mercy; which are all separately
 " and ADEQUATELY represented to the
 " understanding [2].”

But, that his Lordship so frequently discards his own principles, I should be

[2] *The principles of natural and revealed Religion, in a course of Sermons at Lincoln's Inn, Vol. i. p. 57, 58.*
in

in hopes he would submit to this illustration, since he owns THAT WE SEE THE DEITY IN A REFLECTED, NOT IN A DIRECT LIGHT [3].

It is a *true* light then and not a *false* one: and the knowledge it conveys is *real*, not *fantastic*: For mirrors do not use to reflect the species of the mind's visions, but substantial things. To turn us, therefore, from God's *attributes*, tho' the *indirect*, yet the well-defined, image of him, because they discover something to us we may not like, a HELL and a FUTURE JUDGMENT; to turn us, I say, to the *undefined eternal reason*, is doing like the french Philosophers, who, when they quarrelled with Newton's Theory of light and colours, contrived to break the prism, by which it was demonstrated.

And now, Sir, to conclude my long Letter. Who is there that deserves the name of MAN, and will not own that they are the MORAL ATTRIBUTES of the Deity which make him AMIABLE; just as the *natural attributes* make him revered and adorable? What is his Lordship's German-quarrel with the God of MOSES and PAUL, but

[3] Vol. v. p. 524.

that they have made him *unamiable*, by representing him without *goodness* or *justice*? *Their God*, therefore, he expressly tells us, *shall not be his God*. Well then: He has his God to make. And who would not expect to find him, when made by such a Workman as his Lordship, a God of infinite goodness and justice. No such matter: These qualities come not out of his Lordship's hands, nor can enter into the composition of his God: They are *barely NAMES that men give to various manifestations of the infinite wisdom of one simple uncompounded Being*. The pretended want of them in the God of the Jews afforded his Lordship a commodious cavil; for he had RELIGION to remove out of his way: But when he came to erect NATURALISM in it's stead, it had been inconvenient to give them to his own Idol.

Honest Plutarch, tho' a Priest, was as warm an enemy to PRIEST-CRAFT as his Lordship. He derives all the evils of Superstition from men's not acquiring the idea of a God infinitely good and just. And proposes this knowledge as the only cure for it. This is consistent. But what would the ancient world have thought of
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their Philosopher, had his remedy, after hunting for it through a hundred volumes, been a God without any goodness and justice at all.

NATURE tells us, that the thing most desirable is the knowledge of a God whose goodness and justice gives to every man according to his works.

HIS LORDSHIP tells us, that REASON or NATURAL RELIGION discovers to us no such God.

Now, if both speak truth, How much are we indebted to REVELATION! Which, when *natural Religion* fails us, brings us to the knowledge of a God infinitely good and just; and gives us an *adequate* idea of those attributes! And this, by his Lordship's own confession. — *Christianity*, says he, DISCOVERS *the love of God to man; his infinite JUSTICE and GOODNESS* [4].

Is this a blessing to be rejected? His Lordship had no room to say so, since the discovery is made in that very way, in which, upon his principles, it only could be made.

He pretends, “ We have no other natural way of coming to the knowledge of God but

[4] Vol. v. p. 532.

from his *works*. By those, *he says*, we gain the idea of his *physical attributes*; and if there be any thing in his *works* which seems to contradict these attributes, 'tis only seeming. For as men advance in the knowledge of nature, those difficulties vanish. It is not so, he says, with regard to the *moral attributes*. There are so many *phænomena* which contradict these, and occasion difficulties never to be cleared up, that they hinder us from acquiring an *adequate* idea of the *moral attributes*."

Now admitting all this to be true, for generally his Lordship's assertions are so extravagant, that they will not admit a supposition of their truth, tho' it be only for argument's sake, What does it effect but this, *additional credit to Revelation*?

The *physical difficulties* clear up as we advance in our knowledge of *Nature*, and we advance in proportion to our diligence and application. But the *moral difficulties* never clear up, because they rise out of the *Whole System* of God's moral dispensation; which is involved in clouds and darkness, impenetrable to mortal sight: and all the application of human wit alone will never enable us to draw the veil. The clear
prospect

prospect of it must come from another quarter. It must come, if it comes at all, from the Author of the Dispensation. Well; *Revelation* hath drawn this veil, and thereby removed the darkness which obstructed our attaining an *adequate* idea of the *moral* attributes. Shall we yet stand out? And when we are brought hither upon his Lordship's own principles, assuredly you must. *Beware* (says he) *of a pretended revelation*. Why so? *Because* (says he again) *the Religion of nature is perfect and absolute; and therefore Revelation can teach nothing but what Religion hath already taught* [5]. Strange! Why, *Revelation* teaches the moral attributes; which you, my Lord, own, *natural Religion* does not teach — Here the dialogue breaks off; and leaves us in a riddle. Will you have the solution? It is ridiculous enough; as such kind of things generally are. But if you have kept your good humour amidst all these provocations of impiety, it may perhaps make you smile.

I told you before, that his Lordship borrowed all his reasoning against *Revelation*, from such as Tindal, Toland, Col-

[5] Vol. v. p. 544.

lins, Chubb, and Morgan. This solemn argument particularly, of the PERFECTION OF NATURAL RELIGION, and the superseded use of Revelation, he delivers to us just as he found it in Tindal.

Now Tindal, who held that natural Religion taught both the *moral attributes* and a *future state*, had some pretence for saying that *it was perfect and absolute*. But for his Lordship to say it after him, who holds that natural Religion taught neither *one* nor the *other*, shews, that either he places a very implicit faith in his Author, or expects it from his Reader.

The truth is, Lord Bolingbroke refused no arms against Revelation. So when he had drained his Authors of their Principles; to make all sure, he adds others of his own. Little attentive to a truth of long experience, That the arguments of infidelity, which, like Cadmus's *Children of brass*, spring from the *old dragon's teeth*, are always destroying one another, tho' aiming at a common Enemy. Busy at this blind work he goes on pushing his master Tindal's consequences at a strange rate. *If revealed Religion teaches more than natural, it must be false; if no more, it must*
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be superfluous. This is plausible on Tindal's principles, that natural Religion has both the *moral attributes* and a *future state*; but utterly absurd on his Lordship's, who holds that it has neither. But the too eager pursuit of his old Adversary, RELIGION, has led his Lordship into many of these scrapes.

I have now considered all I could find urged by the noble Writer in support of his great principle of NO ADEQUATE IDEAS OF GOD'S MORAL ATTRIBUTES; on which the whole system of NATURALISM is, and must be, founded. And you see to what this *all*, amounts. If I should say to *just nothing*, I shall speak more favourably of it than it deserves. For it tends, as I have shewn you, in many instances, to confirm the great TRUTH it is brought to overthrow.

And now what I proposed for the subject of this *second* Letter is pretty well exhausted. My *first* was employed in giving you a specimen of his *Temper*. This undertakes to explain his *System*; and I reserve the next for a display of his marvellous *Talents*; tho' it be true, I have somewhat anticipated the Subject. For you cannot but have conceived already a very uncommon

mon idea of his abilities, on seeing him use TINDAL'S ARGUMENTS *against Revelation*, and *for the perfection of natural Religion*, along with his OWN PRINCIPLES of *no moral attributes* and *no future state*. The first of which principles makes one entire absurdity of all he borrows from Tindal *against Revelation*; and the *second* takes away the very pretense for PERFECTION in *natural Religion*.

His Lordship's friend, *Swift*, has somewhere or other observed, that no subject in all nature but RELIGION could have advanced *Toland* and *Asgill* into the class of reputable Authors. Another of his friends seems to think that no subject but RELIGION could have sunk his Lordship so far below it; *If ever Lord Bolingbroke trifles*, (says Pope) *it will be when he writes on Divinity* [6].

But this is the strange fate of Authors, whether with wit, or without, when they chuse to write on certain subjects. For it is with Authors, as with men: Who can guess *which Vessel was made for honour*, and *which for dishonour*? when sometimes, one and the same is made for both. Even

[6] *Pope's works*, Vol. ix. Letter xiv.

this choice Vessel of the *first Philosophy*, his Lordship's sacred pages, may be put to very different uses, according to the different tempers in which they may find his few Friends and the Public; like the *China Jordan* in the DUNCIAD, which one Hero pissed into, and another carried home for his Head-piece.

I am, &c.

Warburton, William,

A View Of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy In Four Letters to a Friend

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